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ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES

TEMPLES OF ANCIENT ḤAḌRAMAWT

ALEXANDER V. SEDOV

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Alexander V. Sedov

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FOREWORD

Since our area of study lacks many of the excellent fundamental works which have long been available for the Near East, one is obliged to speak in terms of a groundbreaking work when introducing a book on pre-Islamic Southern Arabia. The volume by Alexander Sedov is the first complete catalogue of the temples of Ḥaḍramawt and a first general introduction to the architecture and functions of South Arabian sacred buildings.

I feel, however, that the reason for this book's interest goes much further.

Sedov is an archaeologist who is deeply interested in historical reconstruction. Basing his work on a tradition of study developed in Russia, essentially through seminal works by A. Lundin, Sedov also examines what the functions of temples in South Arabian society were, and the economic power wielded by the priestly classes which were closely linked to political power.

The study of the temples of Ḥaḍramawt, moreover, opens debate on avenues of research which, in my view, are crucial in today's panorama of studies on South Arabia: the cultural relationships among the kingdoms of South Arabia, those between north and South Arabia and the rest of the Near East.

Sedov's work highlights a number of structural elements which are common to sacred buildings throughout South Arabia as well as those which are specific to the temples of the Ḥaḍramawt. Sedov sets in their proper perspective what could be strong culturalization mechanisms from Saba$^{\flat}$ during the early years of the history of South Arabia, followed, from the mid first millennium BC, by an increase in factors of specificity in the other South Arabian kingdoms. I have long been convinced that a Sabaean acculturation is an important but limited factor in the long history of South Arabia. Saba$^{\flat}$ was not the central hub for the spread outwards of South Arabian culture in an otherwise empty Yemen. On the contrary, it interacted with other ethnic groups who had also been establishing their own cultural identity in these same years.

Sedov identifies a number of architectural models outwith Arabia in second millennium Palestine which may possibly have influenced the structure of the holy buildings of the Ḥaḍramawt and which are perfectly parallel with the close linguistic links between South Arabian and the Semitic languages of Syria-Palestine of the same period.

A few words on editorial choices. In a spirit of equality, but not without a struggle, I accepted the vocalization of proper nouns used by Sedov and Frantsouzoff. In the other volumes of the series I did opt for leaving proper nouns without vowels.

It was especially arduous for me to call *S'yn* Sayīn or Siyān also because here the vocalization is not just to make it easier for the reader to read and pronounce a proper noun, but involves a decision on its interpretation. To deny any link between the ḥaḍrami god *S'yn* and the Sīn of Mesopotamic documentation, a cult that was one of the many causes that brought Nabonidus to Taymāʾ half way through the mid first millennium, seems to me unnecessarily excessive. Scholars of South Arabia appear to have scruples, in my view unjustified, against incorporating the history of South Arabia into the overall history of the ancient Near East. Furthermore, in purely linguistic terms, South Arabian inscriptions used *mater lectionis* much more extensively than other Semitic epigraphic corpora to mark vowels, thus it is hard to contest interpreting Sīn with all the ensuing strong connection to near Eastern culture.

My affectionate thanks to Alessandra Lombardi who, with all her usual kindness and generosity, has been of great assistance in preparing this volume for publication.

Alessandra Avanzini

PREFACE

Despite the fact that the investigation of the pre-Islamic religious buildings was already the main goal for the first archaeological missions to Yemen[1], there is a definite lack of information on the composition, function, layout, internal and external decoration of the South Arabian temples and sanctuaries in general, and on the Ḥaḍramawt sacral buildings in particular. The results of the first archaeological excavations were given insufficient consideration in general works about the religion and/or religious architecture of the pre-Islamic Yemen[2]. In addition to the epigraphic material, the majority of such studies have been based up to now on the surface exploration of the known sacred structures and on general conclusions, and only do recent publications of the results of newly excavated monuments present new data[3], which can be supplemented now with additional material from the Ḥaḍramawt (*map 1*).

In preparing this book I have made extensive use of both published and unpublished material from the excavations and surveys of the Russian Archaeological Mission to the Republic of Yemen (RAMRY) organized by the Institute of Oriental Studies Russian Academy of Sciences[4], the

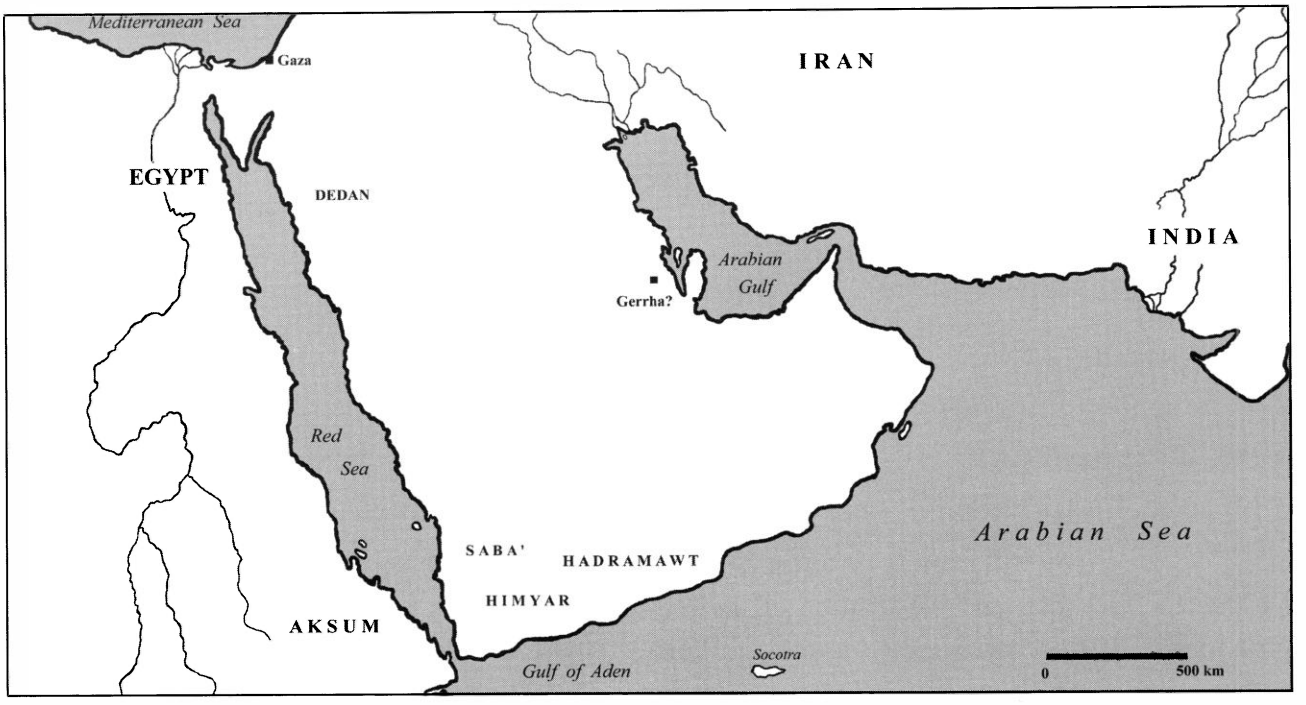
---

[1] Cf. excavations of temple at al-Ḥuqqa not far from Ṣanʿāʾ (Rathjens, von Wissmann 1932); the comprehensive publication by G. Caton Thompson of the Sayīn temple at the settlement near al-Ḥurayḍa in the Wādī ʿAmd (Caton Thompson 1944, pp. 19-64); the adventurous explorations of A. Hamilton at Shabwa (Hamilton 1942; 1949, pp. 159-164; Brown, Beeston 1954); the immense diggings of the Awwām temple in Marib (Albright 1952; 1958; 1958a; Jamme 1962), and excavations of the structure identified as the temple of Sayīn dhū-ʾIlim at the site in the Khor Rori lagoon (ancient *Sʾmhrm*), the Ḥaḍramawt stronghold on the Dhofari coast (Albright 1953; 1980; 1982, pp. 19-25) conducted by the mission of the American Foundation for the Study of Man (AFSM).

[2] Cf., for instance, Höfner 1970; Beeston 1984; Ryckmans J. 1987; Lundin 1994; Müller 1998; Sima 2002; Breton 1980; Schmidt 1982; 1982a; Jung 1988; Kozhin 1995.

[3] Cf. publications of the ʿAthtar temple in as-Sawdāʾ (ancient *Nsʾn*) excavated by the French Archaeological Mission (Breton, Arramond, Robine 1990; Breton 1992a; Avanzini 1995); the Nakraḥ temple in Barāqish (ancient *Yṯl*) excavated by the Italian Mission (De Maigret 1991; de Maigret, Robin 1993); first publications of the temples in the Marib area and in Ṣirwāḥ explored by the Ṣanʿāʾ Branch of the German Archaeological Institute (Schmidt 1982b; 1982c; 1987; 1987a; 1997-98; Nebes 1992; Vogt 1998; Vogt, Herberg, Röring 2000); see also Breton, Seigne 1980.

[4] By the end of 1991 it was known as SOYCE, i.e. the Soviet -Yemeni Complex [=Interdisciplinary] Expedition.



MAP 1. *Arabia and neighbouring countries in antiquity.*

available publications of the results of the American, French, British and Italian explorations in Ḥaḍramawt and Dhofar, and I would like to thank Alessandra Avanzini (Pisa), Jean-François Breton (Paris), Michel Mouton (Lyon/Damascus), Donald Hansen (New York) for their kind permission to reproduce drawings and plans and incorporate descriptions of some excavated buildings in my book. I have to stress also that the work could not have been completed without the continuous and strong help and support from my colleagues and friends of the Russian, Italian, German and French archaeological missions to Yemen, from the Yemeni officials of the General Organisation for Antiquities and Museums (G.O.A.M.) of the Ministry of Culture, the Republic of Yemen. To all of them, and especially to Prof. Yusuf Muḥammad Abdullah (Ṣanᶜāᵓ), Aram M. Akopyan (Moscow), Dr. Ahmad Baṭayāᶜ (Aden), Muḥammad Bamahrama and Dr. Abdelaziz Dj. Ben Aqīl (al-Mukallā), Dr. Abdullah Bawazir (Ṣanᶜāᵓ), Elena S. Bondarenko (Moscow), Iris Gerlach and Holger Hitgen (Ṣanᶜāᵓ/ Berlin), Jurij F. Kozhin (St.-Petersburg), Alessandro de Maigret (Naples), Michail B. Piotrovskij (St.-Petersburg), Vitalij V. Naumkin (Moscow), Selma al-Radi (New York), Christian J. Robin (Aix-en-Provence), Abdurrahman as-Saqqaf (Sayᶜun), Jurij A. Vinogradov (St.-Petersburg), Burkhard Vogt (Bonn), I would like to express my sincere gratitude. Sergej A. Frantsouzoff (St.-Petersburg) very kindly supplemented my study with the publication of several previously unknown inscriptions found during my surveys and excavations in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt (see *Appendix* III). I would also like to thank him and B. Vogt, for their painstaking reading of the manuscript which helped me to avoid some errors, major pitfalls and misinterpretations. My warm thanks go also to Helmut Kyrieleis, the former President of the German Archaeological Institute, and Ricardo Eichmann, the Director of the DAI

Orient-Abteilung, for allowing me to conduct my research in the excellent libraries of the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin in 1999 and 2001. The Russian version of the book[5] was completed during my unforgettable and incredibly productive fellowship at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey (U.S.A.), in the 1997-98 academic year, made possible thanks to the kind assistance of Glen W. Bowersock. The revised English version was completed in the frame of the joint French-Italian-German-Russian INTAS project 00-00028 "Incense Long Distance Trade, Pre-Islamic Inscriptions and Antiquities of Ḥaḍramawt" (scientific project co-ordinator - Chr.J. Robin) and in the frame of the project NSH-409.2003.6. for supporting the leading scientific schools of the Russian Federation (scientific leader - G.M. Bongard-Levin). I am particularly very grateful to Alessandra Avanzini for her kind suggestion to publish the present study in the series *Arabia Antica* initiated by the University of Pisa.

Alexander V. Sedov
Institute of Oriental Studies
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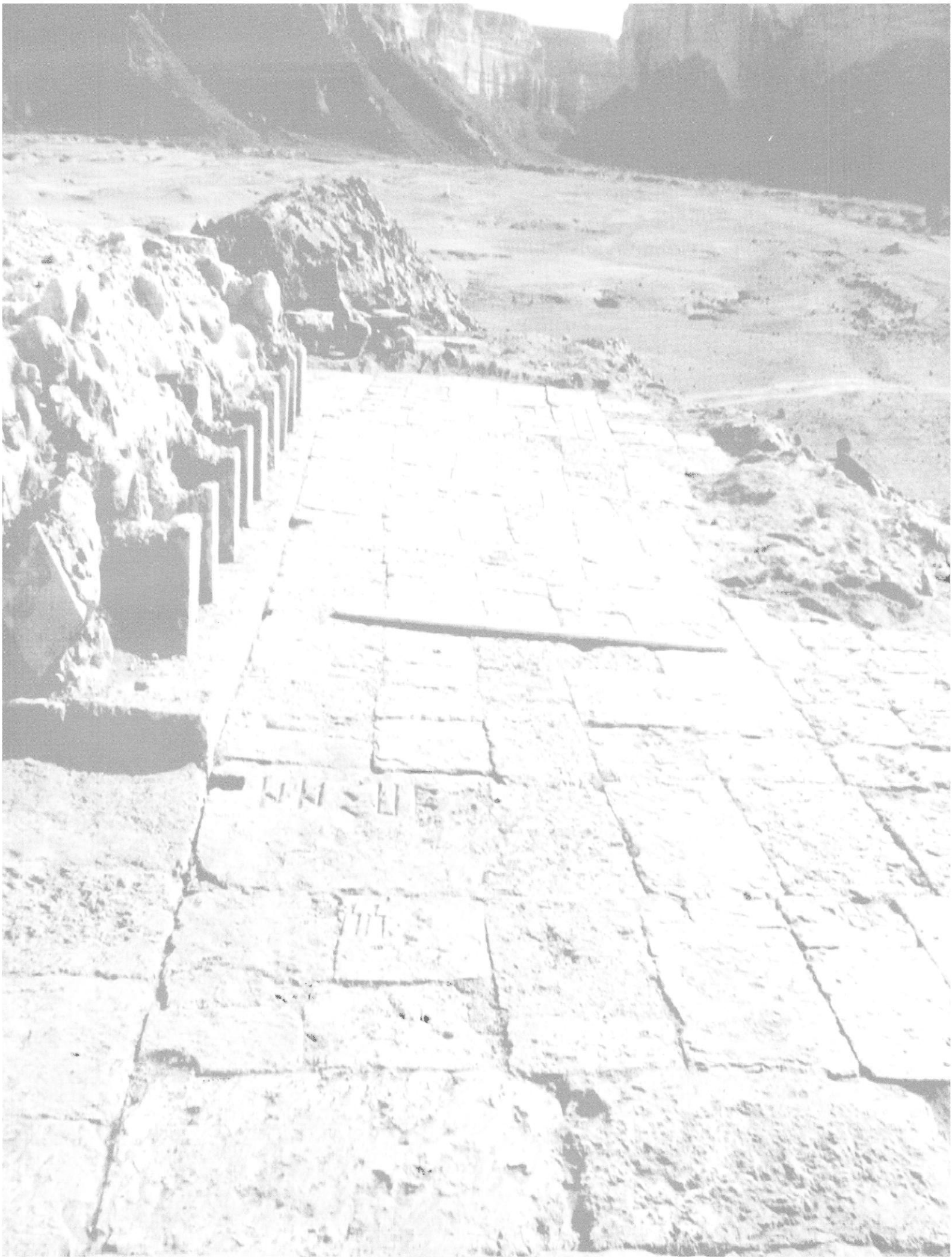
[5] See Sedov 2000a, pp. 177-272.



INTRODUCTION

Pliny the Elder in his *Natural History* describes *Sabota*, *i.e.* Shabwa (ancient *S²bwt*), the capital of the ancient Ḥaḍramawt Kingdom (*map 2*), as «a walled town containing sixty temples»[1]. Despite the fact that the French Archaeological Mission, which had been investigating the ancient town for many years, did not find this number of religious buildings, the Roman historian could hardly be mistaken in his indirect characterisation of the religious life of the ancient kingdom.

It seems that in every-day life inhabitants of ancient Ḥaḍramawt would have found it hard to differentiate clearly between sacred and profane. Nearly every city-dweller or villager thought it necessary during his lifetime to appeal to the deities of the Ḥaḍramawt pantheon often and for many different reasons, and the number of dedications testifying to this are considerable. For instance, temples situated at the Raybūn oasis provide us with more than two thousand seven hundred preserved votive inscriptions and their fragments (the excavations were not completed). The overwhelming majority of the votive texts are dedications to the deities as gratitude for permitting recovery from disease, increasing property ownership, or, otherwise a kind of penitential inscription with information about "the reconciliation" with the deity placing the dedicator's soul, children and possessions under the deity's will. In addition, names of gods and goddesses, the sacred formulae were often engraved on the rocks at market-places and on road-side stones along caravan routes, on the polished facing slabs decorating the walls of houses, on the stone blocks of irrigation constructions, on every-day objects like, for instance, pottery vessels or personal amulets made of stone, metal and clay. Among others, the most popular was a sacred formula «(god) Wadd (is) farther» (𐩅𐩣|𐩱𐩠 = *Wd ʾb*) which, along with the names of other deities, protected the possessor of the amulet or the vessel, the owner of the construction, as well as the construction itself, from different unfavourable circumstances, and also preserved food-stuff from spoiling.

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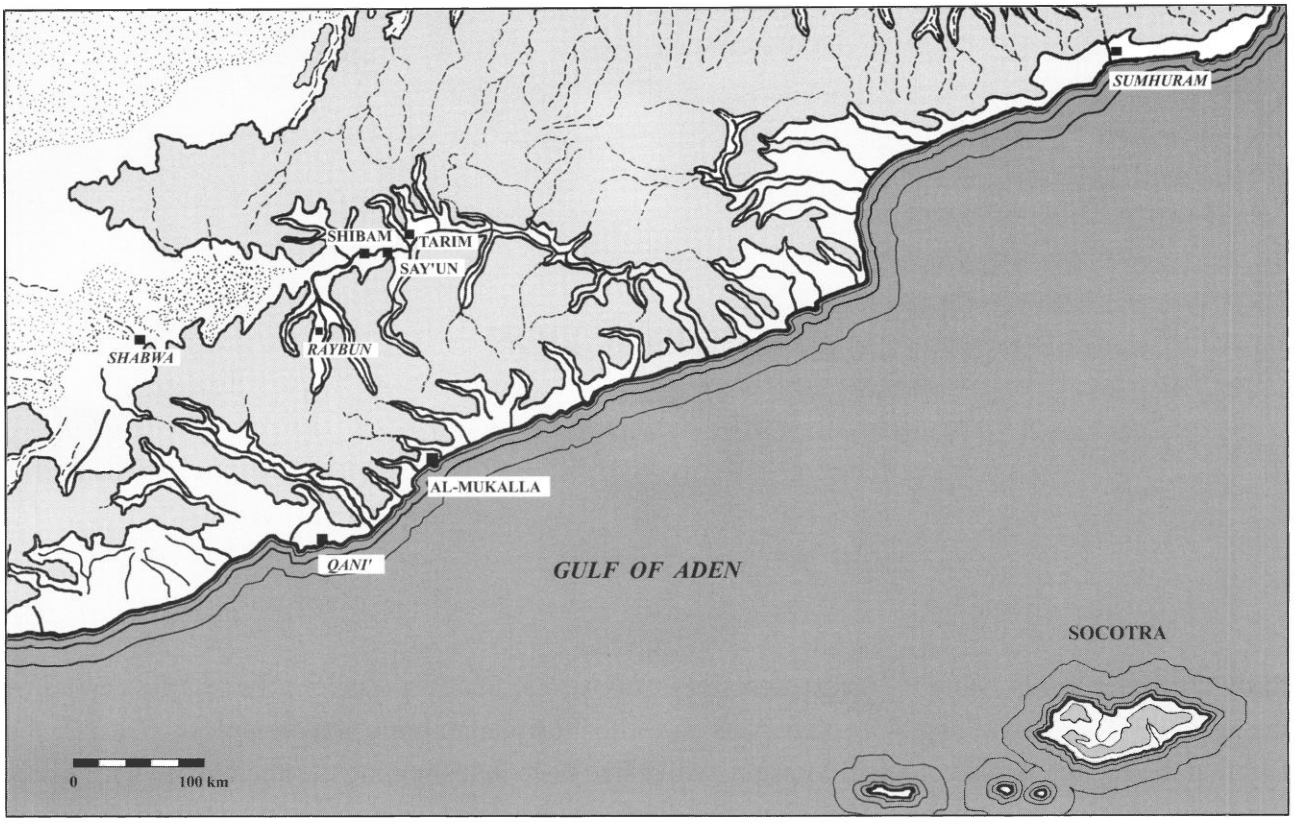
[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, XXXII, 155: «... *pars eorum Atramitae, quorum caput Sabota LX templa muris includens*».

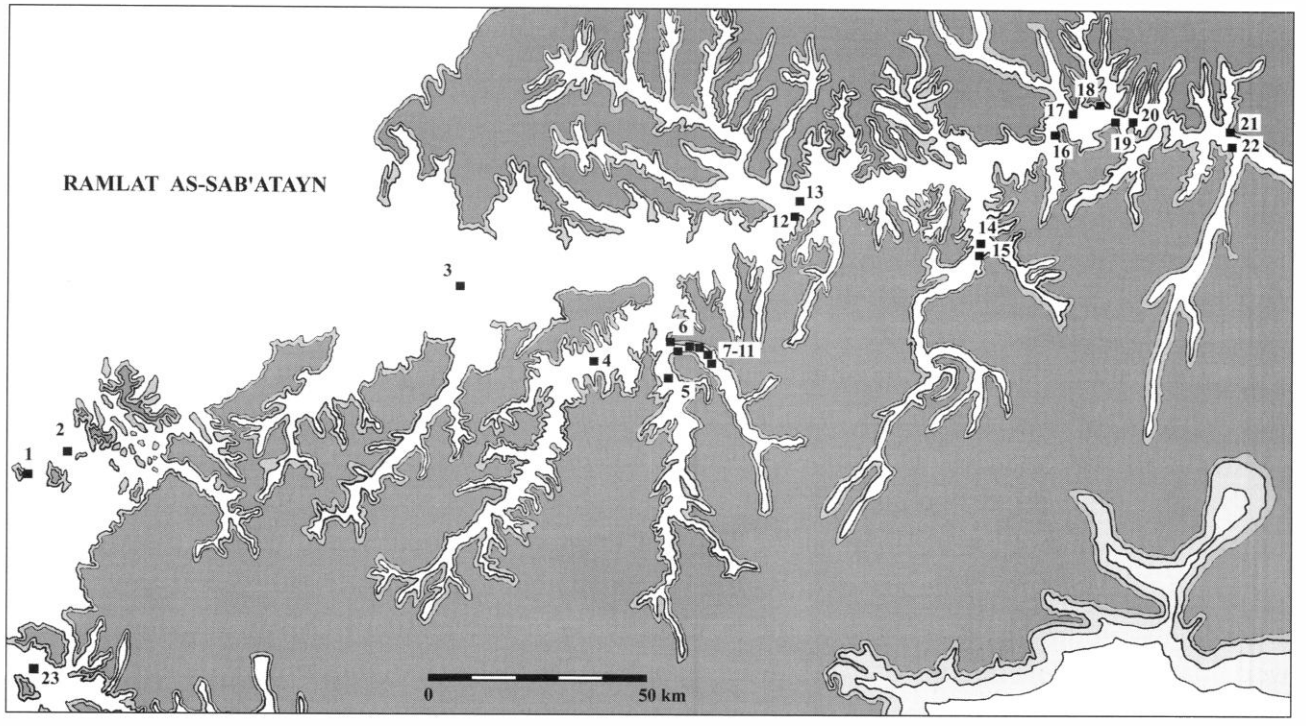


MAP 2. *The extension of the Ḥaḍramawt Kingdom.*

The exploration of numerous ancient sites in Ḥaḍramawt carried out in recent years by Russian and French archaeologists as well as previous studies by British and American scholars provide us with valuable and unique material about sacral buildings of the ancient kingdom (*map 3*). Quite a number of huge temple complexes and small temples were found at nearly every settlement investigated (the so-called *intra muros* temples), on the steep sides of the wadi's beyond the sites limits, usually amidst cave-necropolises (the so-called *extra muros* temples)[2]. Thus, we have now a series of excavated and recorded religious structures dedicated to different gods and goddesses of the Ḥaḍramawt pantheon still with votive inscriptions found among their ruins, and we can describe such structures in detail and make guesses on their possible functions.

It must be pointed out that not every building in Ḥaḍramawt that contained votive inscriptions was a temple or sanctuary. Inscriptions with sacred formulae were mounted on the outer walls of private houses and public constructions such as the walls for defending towns or fortresses, and served as equivalent of commemorative or constructional texts well known from the other territories of the ancient Yemen. One of the striking evidence of such texts is inscriptions mentioning Sayīn (the "federal" deity of Ḥaḍramawt) and ᶜAmm (the "federal" deity of Qatabān) from the Building 6 at

[2] Here and below the terms "temple" or "temple complex" designate the entire holy precinct, while the term "sanctuary" is using to define the main building or main place and focus of worship.



MAP 3. *Monuments of ancient Ḥaḍramawt mentioned in the text. 1 - al-ᶜUqla; 2 - Shabwa; 3 - Biʾr Ḥamad; 4 - Ḥurayḍa; 5 - Raybūn oasis; 6 - ᶜAdhāb; 7-11 - settlements in the Wādī al-ᶜAyn; 12 - ᶜUqrān; 13 - Jūja; 14 - Mashgha; 15 - Sūna; 16 - al-Ḥajar; 17 - Qārat Qibḍa; 18 - temple near Ḥuṣn al-ᶜUrr; 19 - Makaynūn; 20 - az- Zālif; 21 - Bā Quṭfa; 22 - Ḥuṣn al-Qays; 23 - Hajar al-Barīra.*

the Raybūn I settlement[3]. There may also have been small domestic shrines but none of the premises excavated so far have been so identified[4].

In the ancient oasis of Raybūn located in the lower reaches of the Wādī Dawᶜan (sometimes this part of the wadi is called Wādī al-Hajarān), the Russian Archaeological Mission to the Republic of Yemen has been fully or partly excavating temples of different gods and goddesses of the Ḥaḍramawt pantheon. These are the temple of Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān, the enormous complex of religious buildings located on the wadi's steep side; the two temples dedicated to the goddess Dhāt Ḥimyam, the Raḥbān temple at the primary settlement of the oasis, Raybūn I, and the temple of Kafas/Naᶜmān beyond the site's limits; and lastly the temple of ᶜAthtarūm/ᶜAśtarūm dhāt-Ḥaḍrān, situated on the outskirts of the ancient town. In addition, we recorded that all surrounding settlements of the ancient oasis had their own temples as well as separate religious buildings[5]. The French Archaeological Mission

[3] Cf. Lundin 1996.

[4] But cf. below (*Appendix I*) on the possible identification as "domestic shrine" of one of the rooms discovered in the so-called "dwelling complex" in the sanctuary of a local deity at Biʾr ᶜAlī settlement (ancient *Qnʾ*). See also the famous "Lady Baraʾat" from Hajar Kuḥlān settlement (ancient *Tmnᶜ*), the capital of the Qatabānian Kingdom, which origin might be also connected with "domestic shrine" of the "House Yafash" (cf. Jamme 1958, pp. 191-192).

[5] Sedov 1996a; 1998.

explored at least three temples in Shabwa, the capital of the Ḥaḍramawt Kingdom, and another at Bā Quṭfa settlement in the eastern part of Wādī Ḥaḍramawt[6]. Religious structures were discovered at the settlements near al-Ḥurayḍa (ancient *Mḏbm*) in the Wādī ᶜAmd[7]; at Jūja in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, not far from the modern town of Shibām[8]; at the site in the Khor Rori lagoon (ancient *Sʾmhrm*), the Ḥaḍrami stronghold on the Dhofari coast[9]; at the Biʾr ᶜAlī settlement (ancient *Qnʾ*) on the southern coast of Ḥaḍramawt[10]. Numerous temples were recorded during our surveys, and during explorations by the French archaeologists in the eastern part of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, between Tarīm and the mouth of Wādī Sāna.

These studies allow me to generalise the data and draw some preliminary conclusions on the layout and function of the different structures which go to make up the sacral buildings of Ḥaḍramawt, on the rites possibly performed in the sanctuaries, and on the composition of the Ḥaḍrami pantheon. At the same time, it must be pointed out that this book is neither a study of the religion of ancient Ḥaḍramawt, which must be done on the basis of epigraphical sources and narrative texts, nor a review of the Ḥaḍrami religious architecture, but an attempt to generalise and present new, mostly unpublished, archaeological material and possible ways of interpreting it. Many questions such as who financed the construction of the Ḥaḍrami temples, who visited the temples and whether ordinary people were permitted to enter the sanctuary or whether they had to worship outside, what kind of 'relations' existed between temples and graveyards situated sometimes in close vicinity to religious buildings, remain unanswered. No doubt, these will be examined in future studies which must be carried out in close co-operation between archaeologists, historians, epigraphists and architects.

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[6] Breton 1979; 1998.

[7] Caton Thompson 1944, pp. 19-62.

[8] Excavations were conducted by the archaeological mission of the New York University under the direction of Prof. D. Hansen and Dr. S. al-Radi. The results were presented at the *Fourth International Conference on Civilisation of Ancient Yemen* held in Ṣanᶜāʾ on March 10-13, 1998; see Hansen, Ochsenschlager, al-Radi 2004.

[9] Albright 1953; 1980; 1982, pp. 19-25. At present the site in the Khor Rori lagoon is the subject of the field investigations conducted by the Italian Mission to Oman (IMTO) of the Pisa University headed by Prof. A. Avanzini (Avanzini 1996; 2002; Avanzini *et al.* 2000; 2001; 2002; Avanzini, Orazi 2001; Orazi 1997).

[10] Excavations were carried out in 1995-96 by the French Archaeological Mission to Jāwf-Ḥaḍramawt (Yemen) under the direction of Dr. M. Mouton as an integrated part of the short-term joint Russian-French-Italian field-project at Biʾr ᶜAlī settlement.

1.

PANTHEON OF ANCIENT ḤAḌRAMAWT: A REVIEW

As was stated by the late A.F.L. Beeston, South Arabian paganism was a rather complex and sophisticated phenomenon of the already highly developed civilisation of mostly sedentary farmers with close links to the Mediterranean-Mesopotamian areas[1]. Almost eighty years ago D. Nielsen proposed its astral foundation when the majority of divinities were associated with the sun, moon, planets, stars and constellations[2]. But today, most of the specialists would agree that this "extravagant", according to Beeston, hypothesis is mere speculation and must be completely ruled out, despite occasional reference to it today indicating it is still not extinct[3].

Down to the early 4th century AD, the monumental inscriptions, our main source for the reconstruction of the ancient South Arabian religion, were uniformly polytheistic and numbered several divinities that were worshipped in different regions of what is now Yemen. Deities served as "patrons" of a clan, family, tribe or tribal confederation, and occupied different structural levels of the pantheon. The divinities played, as was stated by Beeston, «a vital socio-political role in that their cults served as the focus and expression of tribal or federative cohesion and loyalty»[4]. The "functional" deities such as Goddess of fertility, the God of Thunder or the God of Death were not common or not attested at all. Indeed, as can see from South Arabian texts that appeals for harvest, recovery from illness, and wellbeing etc. were normally addressed to the local or tribal divinities of the region.

Among the deities, the most significant ones were that of the "patrons" of a tribe or of one of the great tribal confederations. The three principal federations of tribes developed later into the kingdoms – those headed by the tribes of Saba[ʾ], Qatabān, and Ḥaḍramawt – had as their "patrons" respectively ʾAlmaqah, ʿAmm and Sayīn. Following the terminology proposed by Beeston these

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[1] Beeston 1984, p. 260.

[2] Nielsen 1922-42; 1927.

[3] Cf. Jamme 1947; 1948; Ryckmans G. 1931; 1960; Höfner 1970; Beeston 1984, p. 260; Ryckmans J. 1975-76; 1987; 1992; Müller 1998; 1999; Lundin 1994; Bron 1995; Robin 1996, col. 1156-1193; Sima 2002.

[4] Beeston 1984, p. 260.

"federal" deities were also "lords" of the principal temples in the capitals, and occupied the primary positions in the invocations. Sabaeans erected temples of ʾAlmaqah on the occupied territories and considered the worship of this deity as the evidence of their political domination, while Qatabanians were collectively termed "children of ʿAmm" (*wld ʿm*).

1.1 DEITIES OF THE ḤAḌRAMAWT PANTHEON

Rather little is known about the composition of the pantheon of the ancient Ḥaḍramawt, the number of deities and their hierarchy. Texts of the kind found in Sabaʾ for instance, in which official inscriptions were complemented with long invocations listing the deities of the pantheon in a certain order, are practically unknown in Ḥaḍramawt. Perhaps, one of the ways to reconstruct its pantheon is to register all known Ḥaḍrami texts containing the names of the deities with their precise location to the certain districts, places and sites of the ancient kingdom. Such analyses can also yield information about the subordination of different deities inside the pantheon[5].

It seems that similarly to other South Arabian kingdoms there were deities worshipped all over the territory of the ancient Ḥaḍramawt, the so-called "federal" deities, and divinities known only on a "local scale", the divinities of regional or local importance. In addition, the numerous graffiti from Ḥaḍramawt revealed a number of names, which can be considered as divinities of the "popular" religion.

ʿAthtar (*ʿṯtr* or *ʿs³tr*)

As far as we know, ʿAthtar occupied the dominant position in the panthea of all South Arabian kingdoms. He was, probably, the ancient supreme deity of the Semitic tribes dwelling in South Arabia[6]. Apparently, Ḥaḍramawt was not an exception – in one of the inscriptions found in Shabwa, ʿAthtar was called the «father» of Sayīn dhū-ʾIllīm, the capital hypostasis of the "federal" deity of Ḥaḍramawt (RES 2693/5: *Sʾyn/ḏ-ʾlm/ w-ʿṯtr/ʾb-sʾ*)[7]. In the votive inscription from the al-Mukallā

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[5] Evidently, while reconstructing the Ḥaḍramawt pantheon we must take into consideration the theophoric proper names. However, such kind of analysis meets a number of obstacles. First of all, it is the lack of the onomasticon corpus with clear fixation, or, at least, an effort to fix, which names are to be considered as surely Ḥaḍrami, and which ones may be classified as common South Arabian. Then, as it's widely known, South Arabian theophoric proper names often include an element *ʾl-* or *-ʾl* meaning a deity in general, not giving its name, while real names of many deities, known from the inscriptions, were never included in the proper names (about the difficulties in using the onomastic material for reconstruction of the Sabaean pantheon see Robin 1996, col. 1166-1167; on the general difficulties see Macdonald 2000, p. 38). One of the first attempts to use the onomastic material for the reconstruction of the Ḥaḍramawt pantheon was made by Dr. M. Arbach in the paper given on the conference *Civilisations of the pre-Islamic Arabia (Rencontrees sabéennes, 3)* in Aix-en-Province, 1-3 February, 1996.

[6] Höfner 1970, pp. 243-244; Robin 1982, pp. 53-55; Beeston 1984, p. 260; 1991, pp. 2-3; Lundin 1987c; 1994, pp. 186-187.

[7] Pirenne 1990, pp. 75-76; Yémen 1997, p. 146; see also Robin, Frantsouzoff 1999, p. 159.

National Museum, which was picked up, probably, at the Jūja settlement in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt not far from the modern city of Shibām, a certain *Ḥṣr* made a dedication to two deities at once – to ᶜAthtar and to Sayīn, and ᶜAthtar occupied the first place in the invocation (Ǧuǧa/Musée d'al-Mukallā 1/1: *Ḥṣr/sˡqny/ᶜs³tr/w-Sˡyn*)[8]. The name of ᶜAthtar was attested in two fragmentary inscriptions from the ancient oasis of Raybūn (Ray/Te/6=Raybūn 6: *ᶜs³tr* and SOYCE 2110: *[ᶜ]ṯtr*)[9], and in the votive formula on the fragment of the façade slab that once decorated the wall of the building, probably a temple, at aṣ-Ṣāfil 2 settlement in the Wādī al-ᶜAyn (SF II/1=SOYCE 920=SF II/84, 1-2: *[sˡqny/]ᶜṯtr/ n[fsˡ-sˡ]*)[10].

Two new, previously unknown hypostasises of ᶜAthtar, *ᶜṯtr Yhᶜtg* and *ᶜṯtr Yḏb*, are mentioned in the rock inscription from the Wādī Dawᶜan (Inner Ḥaḍramawt). Going by the interpretation of the third line of the inscription, proposed by the late G.M. Bauer, they had some kind of unclear relation with the local Raybūn goddess (*ᶜṯtr/Yhᶜtg/wᶜṯtr/Yḏb/bᶜl/s²hr/ᶜttrm = ᶜṯtr Yhᶜtg and ᶜṯtr Yḏb (?), the lord of New Moon (? or of the first appearance over the horizon?) of the (goddess) ᶜttrm*)[11].

Sayīn (*Sˡyn*)

The supreme "federal" god of the Ḥaḍramawt was surely Sayīn (or Siyān), commonly identified, although usually *a priori*, with the moon. Such identification is based on a hypothetical phonetic resemblance with the name of the well-known North Semitic moon deity Suᵓen=Sīn[12]. Moreover, the idea of direct borrowing of the Mesopotamian deity by the ancient Ḥaḍramies sometimes dominates[13]. However, as has already been pointed out, both ideas are nothing more than pure speculation, without sufficient confirmation. Vocalisation of the name of the Ḥaḍrami god is not known. Graphically rendered as 𐩣𐩲𐩧 = *Sˡyn*, it could have sounded like Sayīn, Sayān, Sayyīn, Saīn, Siān, Siyān etc., and

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[8] Arbach 1997, p. 43.

[9] Breton *et al.* 1982, pp. 43, 104, pl. II; Frantsouzoff 2001, p. 67. The inscription Soyce 2110 was found in the ruins of temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān. The two fragments of stele Ray/Te/6=Raybūn 6 containing a part of the text, dated on palaeographical grounds close to the 3rd-1st centuries BC, with information about a war between Ḥaḍramawt and Qatabān (?) were found in the ruins of *extra muros* temple at the Raybūn oasis during the archaeological reconnaissance of the French Archaeological Mission in 1979. Unfortunately, it is not clear which temple of *extra muros* is meant – the temple of Ḥaḍrān, temple of Mayfaᶜān, temple of Kafas/Naᶜmān, or the building, designated as Raybūn VI (see *Appendix I* below).

[10] Piotrovskij 1995, p. 182; Sedov 1996, p. 266.

[11] Bauer 1995, p. 116. As was stated by the late Bauer, he possessed a photo, although not of very good quality, of the inscription, which was found by the late P.A. Griaznevich during one of his journeys in the Wādī Dawᶜan (as, according to Bauer, was mentioned in the Griaznevich's diary). Recently S. Frantsouzoff expressed some doubts about the existence of the inscription with reference to the absence of such note in the preserved diaries of Griaznevich (Frantsouzoff 2001, p. 68). Whether the inscription in question was really found in the Wādī Dawᶜan or not (probably, it was recorded in the other region of Ḥaḍramawt), the Bauer's statement must be taken into consideration (note, that P.A. Griaznevich was one of the editors of the first volume of Soyce Preliminary Reports, where Bauer's information about inscription was published, and he didn't reject it).

[12] See, for instance, Roberts 1972, pp. 48-50.

[13] Cf. Beeston 1984, p. 263; Lundin 1988; 1994, p. 187.

be quite different from the Akkadian[14]. One must recall that Pliny the Elder named the god worshipped in Shabwa as Sabin[15], which is also quite distant from the proposed Mesopotamian "original"[16]. All this seems to contradict the postulated North Semitic origin of the Ḥaḍramawt deity and «even his connection with the moon is merely speculative»[17].

For the first time in the South Arabian texts the Ḥaḍrami supreme "federal" deity was mentioned in the famous inscription of the Sabaean *mukarrib* Karibʾīl Watar, son of Dhamarʿalī[18], whose reign now quite surely can be placed close to the first decades of the 7th century BC[19]. In the formula for designation of the Ḥaḍramawt, the country which enlarged its territory after the successful Sabaʾ war against Awsān, and along with the name of its ruler Yadaʿʾīl, two deities were attested: Sayīn and Ḥawl (RES 3945/12: *l-Sʿyn/w-l-Ḥwl/w-l-Ydʿʾl/w-l-Ḥḍrmwt*). The name of Sayīn and Ḥawl occurred also in the recently published inscription Arbach-Bāfaqīh al-ʿUqla1 palaeographically dated close to the 6th - 5th centuries BC (... */bḫl/Sʿyn/[w]ḫl/Ḥwl...*)[20]. The supposition that in the most ancient times those two deities were on the top of the "federal" pantheon of Ḥaḍramawt would be quite reasonable. Probably later the situation changed, and only Sayīn appeared in the inscriptions as the supreme "federal" deity, the lord of the country and the antecedent of its people[21].

As far as we can judge from the inscriptions, the god Sayīn was worshipped in different regions of Ḥaḍramawt under different names. Whether there were any distinctions in the functions of these "local" Sayīns or whether they occupied different positions in the pantheon's hierarchy is unknown. Probably, it was just simply different epithets of the sole deity coinciding as a rule with the names of his temples in different places of the ancient kingdom. In the great majority of votive texts found all over Ḥaḍramawt there is a very standard formula of dedication without any specification: *sʿqny[hqny]/Sʿyn*. It seems that a certain epithet was used solely for designation of the local hypostasises of the "federal" deity. For instance, in the Raybūn oasis Sayīn dhū-Mayfaʿān (see, for example, Rb XIV/87, no. 104: *Sʿyn/d̲-Mfʿn*) was worshipped, and his huge temple called Mayfaʿān was raised up on the slope of the valley to the south of the central settlement[22]. In the neighbouring Wādī ʿAmd there was a temple of Sayīn dhū-Madhābum (CT 4/3: *Sʿyn/d̲-Mḏbm*), whose epithet coincided with the name of the ancient agricultural centre of

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[14] Robin 1996, col. 1173.

[15] Pliny, Nat. Hist., XII, 32, 63: «*deo quem vocant Sabin*».

[16] As was stated by Frantsouzoff, the name «was pronounced as Savin according to the Latin phonetic rules of the first century AD» (Frantsouzoff 1997, pp. 123-124, note 2).

[17] Sima 2002, p. 163. The doubts about identification of Sayīn from Ḥaḍramawt with Akkadian Suʾen=Sīn see in the already cited work of A.F.L. Beeston (Beeston 1984, p. 263); now see also Robin 1996, col. 1173; Frantsouzoff 1997, pp. 123-124, note 2; 2001a, p. 65; Sima 2002, p. 163. About the possibility of identifying the Ḥaḍrami "federal" deity with absolutely different celestial object, the sun, see Ryckmans J. 1987, p. 107.

[18] *Karibʾīl le Grand*, as Chr.J. Robin prefers to call him now (Robin 1996, col. 1119-1120).

[19] De Maigret, Robin 1989, pp. 256-265; Robin 1996, col. 1120-1121.

[20] Arbach, Bāfaqīh 1999, pp. 109-114, figs. 1-2.

[21] It seems that the situation in the Ḥaḍramawt neighbour, the ancient Qatabān, was quite similar: the same inscription along with the Qatabānian ruler Warawʾīl attested two deities ʿAmm and ʾAnbay (RES 3945/13).

[22] Cf. Sedov 1994; Frantsouzoff 2001a.

the valley[23]. Sayīn dhū-Mishwar was worshipped in the Wādī ᶜIdim in the town known now as Sūna settlement (RES 4182=Ingrams 6=Ry 620=Nami 80: *Sᵗyn/ḏ-Msʰwr*)[24], and Sayīn dhū-Ḥalsum (BAQ 4+2 and BAQ 61: *Sᵗyn/ḏ-Ḥlsᵗm*) in the small temple on the extensive site of Bā Qūṭfa located in the eastern part of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt[25]. The votive stele from the Aden Museum found somewhere in the Ḥaḍramawt contains the dedication to Sayīn dhū-ᶜAsaṯhān (CIAS 95.11/p1=AM 245/2: *Sᵗyn/ḏ-ᶜsᵗṯhn*)[26].

There is one exception, however. In the capital of the ancient kingdom, in Shabwa, the "federal" deity was worshipped under the name of Sayīn dhū-ʾIllīm (*Sᵗyn/ḏ-ʾlm*). His "federal" temple called ʾIllīm (*mḥrm-sᵗ/ʾlm*) occupied the prominent position in the town at the terminus of its central street and against the middle part of the south-eastern defence wall. But temples of Sayīn dhū-ʾIllīm are not only known in Shabwa, but also in other parts of the ancient kingdom. When the Shabwians founded the colony of Sumhurām on the Dhofari coast, "in the country of Saʾkalān", they built there a temple dedicated to Sayīn dhū-ʾIllīm (Ja 402: *Sᵗyn/ḏ-ʾlm/b-Sᵗmhrm*)[27]. One more temple of Sayīn dhū-ʾIllīm was, probably, founded by the same colonists in the fortress of Saʾnan inland some dozens of kilometres from the Dhofari coast (Ja 892: *Sᵗyn/ḏ-ʾlm...mḥrm-sᵗ/b-Sᵗʾnn*)[28]. The ruins of the fortress were explored by the mission of the American Foundation for the Study of Man in 1960 at the site of Ḥānūn located behind the Jabal Qāra, although the remains of the sanctuary were not identified with certainty[29]. The offering table with a dedication mentioning Sayīn dhū-ʾIllīm was found in the ruins of a temple situated close to the ancient settlement of ᶜUqrān in the central part of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt (RES 3512b=SE 50+51 and RES 3512a=SE 52: *Jsᵗqny/Sᵗyn/ḏ-ʾlm...*)[30]. It is not clear if this finding testifies in favour of the worship of the capital's hypostasis of the "federal" deity in ᶜUqrān, or this was a single object dedicated to the local temple by an inhabitant of the capital.

Ḥawl (*Ḥwl*)

Inscriptions mentioning Ḥawl, probably the second most important deity of the Ḥaḍramawt in early times, are not numerous[31]. In addition to the already cited RES 3945/12 and Arbach-Bāfaqīh al-ᶜUqla 1, Sayīn and Ḥawl occurred in the invocation of the text from Naqb al-Hajar

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[23] Caton Thompson 1944, p. 57; Ryckmans G. 1944, p. 159.
[24] Ryckmans G. 1962, pp. 216-218; Wissmann 1968, p. 45.
[25] Pirenne 1979; Breton 1979.
[26] Höfner 1977.
[27] Jamme 1953; Albright 1982, p. 42.
[28] Jamme 1967, pp. 146-148; Albright 1982, p. 89.
[29] Cleveland 1960, pp. 16-18; Albright 1982, pp. 69-70.
[30] Bents 1900, pp. 124-125; Wissmann 1968, p. 46, pl. III, 2.
[31] According to A.G. Lundin, «the goddess Ḥawl» was a «wife» of Sayīn (Lundin 1988); S.A. Frantsouzoff considers that there are some grounds to suppose that Ḥawl was, in fact, the female deity (Frantsouzoff 2001, p. 242; see also *Appendix III*).

(ancient *Myfᶜt*) (RES 3869/3-4: *...ykbr/Myfᶜt/b-Sʾyn/w-Ḥwl/w-Ḥlyl/w-mlk/Ḥḍrmt...*)[32]. Two inscriptions with the name of Ḥawl were found in the Wādī ᶜAmd by the G. Caton Thompson expedition. The stone block with fragmentary text was reused in the extramural structure, the so-called "Stone Frame", unearthed outside the temple Sayīn dhū-Madhābum against its western corner (CT 32: *][hq]nyw/Ḥw[l][*)[33]. The facing slab with part of a two line dedicatory inscription was found in the south-western extramural deposits near the temple (CT 11/1-2: *]bn/Yhn[...h]qny/ Ḥwl*)[34]. It seems that the name of Ḥawl was recorded also in the corpus of Raybūn inscriptions (Ray/79/Te/5: *]r/Ḥwl/ḏ-H[...]w-Ḏrᵓ[l][*; Raybūn-Ḥaḍrān 323:]*Ḥwl*[; SOYCE 5=Rb I/83, no. 33: *][hqn]y/Ḥwl[*)[35]. H. von Wissmann published the inscription with a dedication to Ḥawl from the vicinity of Tarīm in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt (RES 4067: *hqny/Ḥwl*)[36]. The inscription mentioning Sayīn and Ḥawl was found in Shabwa (SOYCE-91/Shabwa, no. 1: *...]mysʾm/Sʾyn/ w-Ḥwl/b-mḥrm-sʾ[*). It was carved on a small altar or pedestal for a sculpture once dedicated to the temple[37].

Dhāt Ḥimyam (*ḏt Ḥmym*)

Judging by the number of the inscriptions and temples, the goddess Dhāt Ḥimyam was quite popular in ancient Ḥaḍramawt. Two large temple complexes, Raḥbān and Kafas/Naᶜmān, dedicated to her were excavated in the ancient oasis of Raybūn in the lower reaches of the Wādī Dawᶜan[38]. It's quite possible that there was also a Dhāt Ḥimyam temple in the capital of Ḥaḍramawt: in one of the inscriptions found at Shabwa the name of the goddess was, probably, mentioned in the final (?) invocation (Hamilton 2A-B+S/75/128: *]b/ḏt/Ḥsᵓwl[m]/wb/[ḏ]t/ [Ḥ]my[m][...]*)[39]. In the collection of the al-Mukallā Museum there is a stone altar or incense burner, also found in Shabwa, with the remains of the inscriptions, among which the name of the goddess Dhāt Ḥimyam (Musée d'al-Mukallā, no. 57: *ḏt/Ḥm[ym]*) can be distinguished quite clearly[40]. Dedications to Dhāt Ḥimyam were also found in the ruins of the temple at the site of Biᵓr Ḥamad in the western part of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt[41], at the al-Ḥajar settlement (HAĞ/79/6: *[Ḥ]mym[...]yt,* and HAĞ/79/9: *[Ḥ](mym)[...]yt*) and near Qabr Nabī Allāh Hūd

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[32] Wissman, Höfner 1952, pp. 303-304; Ryckmans J. 1954, pp. 341-343; Beeston 1978, pp. 202-203.

[33] Caton Thompson 1944, p. 53; Ryckmans G. 1944, p. 170.

[34] Caton Thompson 1944, p. 54; Ryckmans G. 1944, p. 163.

[35] Arbach 1997, p. 56; Bauer 1995, p. 121; Frantsouzoff 2001, pp. 241-242, pl. 309 bis.

[36] Wissmann 1968, p. 46.

[37] We were acquainted with the inscription, and were able to make its photo in 1991 during the visit to the ancient capital of Ḥaḍramawt with the late A.G. Lundin. Inscription was found by local dwellers. On its reading see *Appendix III*, no. 5.

[38] Akopyan 1994; Peters 1996; Sedov 1996a, pp. 21, 24-25; 1997, pp. 32-33, 36-38; 2000; Sedov, Baṭayāᶜ 1994; Frantsouzoff, 1995; 1997; 1998.

[39] Pirenne 1990, pp. 55-58; Bron 1991, p. 460; Robin 1992, p. 210.

[40] Pirenne 1990, p. 81.

[41] Cf. Sedov 1995, pp. 108-110.

in the eastern part of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt (Hūd 1: *Dm/sʿqny/ḏt/Ḥmym/f-yḏb*)[42]. It seems that Dhāt Ḥimyam is also mentioned in one of the inscriptions re-used in the pavement of the temple Sayīn dhū-Madhābum in the Wādī ᶜAmd (CT 3: *][ṣ]lwt/by[t...]wb/ḏt-Ḥ[mym]*)[43].

It is believed that Dhāt Ḥimyam was one of the leading deities of the "federal" Sabaean pantheon, and was known also in Qatabān[44]. Some scholars considered her a manifestation of a "pan–Arabian" solar deity designated by the epithet and, following its etymology, identifying her with the "hot" or "summer" sun, with «solar heat favouring the ripeness of the crops and fruits»[45]. According to others, Dhāt Ḥimyam was the goddess of fortune and fertility, and her name has the root *ḥmy* = "protection"[46].

It seems clear now that Dhāt Ḥimyam occupied the prominent position in the Ḥaḍramawt pantheon, and might be considered as the second most important deity of Ḥaḍramawt of the "classical" period (*i.e.* in the second half of the 1st millennium BC). The number of her temples was considerable, and one of the centres of her cult was, no doubt, the Raybūn oasis: the temple complex of Kafas/Naᶜmān was one of the biggest sacral edifices known in the valley, and the temple of Raḥbān, similar in dimensions if not bigger, certainly occupied the dominant position in the early agricultural settlement of the oasis.

The idea that some protective functions were associated with Dhāt Ḥimyam can be probably confirmed by the find from Raybūn oasis: one of the cave tombs at the necropolis of Raybūn XVI revealed, among other funeral objects, a ceramic cup with the name of the goddess engraved on its base. As a rule, such inscriptions on the objects of everyday life are interpreted as a sort of protective formula (see below about the functions of Wadd). However, one can assume that in this particular case the vessel had been firstly dedicated to the temple, and only later deposited with other funeral objects in the tomb of a priest or other person somehow connected with the temple of Dhāt Ḥimyam.

Dhāt Ḥaśwalām (*ḏt Ḥsʾwlm*)

One of the royal building inscriptions from Shabwa bore the name of Dhāt Ḥaśwalām considered also as epithet of the solar deity (the inscription already mentioned above: Hamilton 2A-B+S/75/128)[47]. It should be pointed out that in the invocation the name of the goddess was placed before the name of Dhāt Ḥimyam, which, probably, testified that she was worshipped on the "federal" level. Unfortunately, the goddess is not attested in the other inscriptions

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[42] Breton *et al.* 1982, pp. 21, 43, 105; Arbach 1997, p. 52.

[43] Caton Thompson 1944, p. 33; Ryckmans G. 1944, p. 158.

[44] Höfner 1970, p. 245; Robin 1996, col. 1161.

[45] Bauer 1989, p. 156; Lundin, 1987a; see also Jamme 1948a. She seems to have a pair in Sabaean pantheon – the goddess Dhāt Baᶜdan usually identified with "remote" or "winter" sun (cf. Höfner 1970, p. 245; Lundin 1987d; Bauer 1995, pp. 119-121).

[46] Cf. Ryckmans J. 1963, pp. 464-465; Beeston 1991, p. 4; Robin 1996, col. 1161-1162, 1170-1171.

[47] Hamilton 1942, p. 113; Beeston 1947, pp. 53-55; Jamme 1948a; Pirenne 1990, pp. 56-58.

from Ḥaḍramawt, so it is quite difficult to reach any conclusion on either her function or exact position in the pantheon.

Shams (*S²ms¹*)

The existence of a sanctuary devoted to the deity Shams is attested by the inscription discovered in Shabwa (VII/81 no. 2: *...]mḥrm/S²ms¹...b ʿ]l/ḏ-Mhzy*)[48]. It is commonly believed that this name belonged to the deity, probably, the female one, associated with the sun, as it follows from her name[49]. There is another inscription from the Aden Museum, in which Shams is mentioned along with Sayīn dhū-ʾIlīm, the capital hypostasis of the "federal" deity of Ḥaḍramawt (RES 3663: *Yḥmʾl/ḏ-Rs²m/ w-bn/Mqnʿm/s¹ḥḍṯ/mwqntn/l-S¹yn/ḏ-ʾlm/w-S²ms¹*)[50]. Part of the votive inscription with the name of Shams was engraved on a stone block which once decorated the ancient building in the vicinity of Shibām in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt (Ry 664=Wissmann 20: *]tm/ʿmmyʿn/S²ms¹-ḏ[*)[51]. According to the observations of M.B. Piotrovskij, the name of the goddess is quite often attested in the graffiti from the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt. He considers it as confirmation that the goddess «was one of the principal deities of the popular religion» in Ḥaḍramawt[52].

Wadd (*Wd*)

Dedicatory texts mentioning temples of the god Wadd are not known in Ḥaḍramawt, although the large inscription from the Wādī ʿAbadān called him "the lord of Mayfaʿat" (ʿAbadān 1/43: *... Wdm/ bʿl/Myfʿt...*)[53], the expression usually designated the deity «as "owner" of his or her sanctuary»[54]. No doubt in Ḥaḍramawt, as well as in whole of South Arabia, Wadd served as one of the main deities-protectors in the "popular" religion[55]. His protective functions were realised through the magic formula «(god) Wadd (is) father», the expression occurred in the building and possession texts (Hamilton 1: *Wd-ʾb/bythn/Yfʿn;* S/77/Mahdi: *...brʾw/s-s¹tfḥ/byt-s¹m/Yfd... ...Wd-ʾb...*)[56], on the ceramic vessels (CT 56: *Wd-ʾb*; CT 57: *mʾs²mrm/ḏ-ʾlḥ/Wdm[/]ʾbm*)[57], amulets[58], constructions of

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[48] Pirenne 1990, p. 143.

[49] Höfner 1970, pp. 272-273; Robin 1996, col. 1163.

[50] Bāfaqīh, Beeston, Robin, Al-Gūl 1985, p. 324.

[51] Ryckmans G. 1962a, p. 443.

[52] Piotrovskij, Sedov 1994, p. 218.

[53] Robin, Gajda 1994, p. 133. According to Arbach, Wadd is also mentioned in the fourth line of the long inscription from Ḥuṣn al-ʿUrr (Ingrams 8=Ry 622+686), but in unclear context (Arbach 1997, p. 106).

[54] Beeston 1991, p. 3.

[55] About the pan-South Arabian worship of Wadd as the god-protector see, for instance, Doe 1983, pp. 100-102; Ryckmans J. 1987, p. 107; Lundin 1987; 1994, p. 187; Bauer 1995, p. 121.

[56] Beeston 1947, p. 53; Pirenne 1990, pp. 72-73.

[57] Caton Thompson 1944, pp. 76, 80; Ryckmans G. 1944, p. 177; Arbach 1997, p. 106. The reading of CT 57 proposed by G. Ryckmans (1944, p. 178) must be rejected.

[58] Piotrovskij 1996, pp. 183-184.

irrigation devises[59], caravan indicator stones and rocks[60]. The name of Wadd and magic formula with his name occurred, for instance, on the rims of large ceramic storage vessels from the Raḥbān temple at the Raybūn I settlement, and in one of such inscriptions he, according to Bauer, was called «the protector of Dhāt Ḥimyam» (SOYCE 580: *Ys²r²l/d̲-Yhb²l/ d̲-Brl/Yhs²b°/Wd-²bm/s²rḥ/d̲t-Ḥmy[m]*)[61].

°Athtarūm/°Aśtarūm (*°t̲trm/°s³trm*)

As it is clear from the Sabaean, Minean, Qatabanian and Ḥimyarite inscriptions, along with the "federal" panthea there were panthea of single territories, tribes, towns and villages, which could include gods and goddesses unknown or seldom worshipped at state level[62]. The situation in Ḥaḍramawt was apparently similar and in all probability this local deity was the goddess °Athtarūm/ °Aśtarūm, whose temple Ḥaḍrān was excavated on the northern outskirts of the central settlement in the Raybūn oasis[63]. The corpus of inscriptions recorded from the sanctuary consisted of 457 units[64].

Analysing the contents of the texts with dedications to °Athtarūm/°Aśtarūm, the late G.M. Bauer supposed that she was «a deity of the female fertility and motherhood»[65]. He also proposed that her name was set in the inscription from Ḥuṣn al-°Urr (Ingrams 8=Ry 622+686), and reconstructed it in one of the inscriptions from the Bā Qūṭfa temple (BAQ 78: *]sqnyt/[°t̲tr]m...*)[66]. Both suppositions are quite doubtful[67] since they do not permit the area of worship of the goddess to be extended as far away as the eastern as the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt. At the same time, we have noticed above the presence of the rock inscription in the upper reaches of the Wādī Daw°an, where the goddess °Athtarūm was mentioned in some relations with two hypostasises of the god °Athtar, so far seemingly unknown[68]. Probably, the area of worship of the goddess was not limited by the Raybūn oasis, but covered the entire western tributary of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt.

Dhāt Ṣahran (*d̲t Ṣhrn*)

Several inscriptions mentioning the name of the goddess Dhāt Ṣahran were found at the Raybūn settlement in the ruins of the temple complex of Raḥbān dedicated to Dhāt Ḥimyam goddess (SOYCE

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[59] Sedov 1995a, p. 91.
[60] Piotrovskij 1996, p. 182.
[61] Bauer 1995, pp. 120-122, fig. 5.
[62] Robin 1982, p. 48 *passim*; Ryckmans J. 1987, p. 108; Lundin 1994, pp. 189-190.
[63] Koshelenko, Kropotkin 1996; Sedov 2000, pp. 23-24; 2001.
[64] Bauer 1995, p. 113; Frantsouzoff 2001.
[65] Bauer 1995, p. 116. According to Frantsouzoff, «... Sayīn et °Athtarūm/°Aśtarūm seraient des guérisseurs divins...» (Frantsouzoff 2001, p. 65).
[66] Bauer 1995, p. 116, note 15 on p. 146.
[67] Cf. also Frantsouzoff 2001, pp. 66-67.
[68] Bauer 1995, p. 116.

635, SOYCE 636+637 and SOYCE 777: ...*ḥqny/ḏt(/)Ṣḥrn*)[69]. According to the conclusion reached by the late G.M. Bauer, these inscriptions, by comparison with other texts from the temple, are "rather early" compared to the periods A-B in the palaeographical scheme of J. Pirenne. On the basis of this statement, he considered that Dhāt Ṣahran was worshipped in Raybūn as an independent goddess, but later on and, probably, under the Sabaean influence, her cult was merged with that of Dhāt Ḥimyam[70]. Moreover, we can suppose that the temple known later as Raḥbān initially was dedicated to Dhāt Ṣahran goddess. It must be pointed out that such a theory has archaeological grounds as well. Our excavations suggest that one of the sanctuaries (Building 3), which later became a part of the huge temple complex of Raḥbān, was built a few centuries earlier than the other edifices (see below *Appendix I*), and initially stood separately on the southern outskirts of the ancient town. We can suppose that in name, this sanctuary was dedicated to Dhāt Ṣahran, the local deity worshipped during the early period of the Raybūn history. It is interesting to note that the only Ḥaḍrami document on the palm-leaf stalks written in archaic "quasi-monumental" script testifying to its rather "early" dating was found in the garbage layer of the Raḥbān temple accumulated prior to the construction of its main sanctuary (Building 4). The text was first identified as a kind of economic document from the temple's archive, indicating the number of animals intended to sacrifice for Zat (=Dhāt) Ṣahran, but later the reading was corrected and another interpretation proposed (X.Rb-89, no. 7: *ʿm/w-ṯḥrmm/zt-Ṣḥrn/zbḥm*)[71]. It seems that in addition to epigraphical, the presence of the name Dhāt/Zat Ṣahran in the document from considerably "early" archaeological context confirms the conclusion about the existence of the "early" sanctuary dedicated to the goddess Dhāt Ṣahran on the place where the huge temple complex Raḥbān of the goddess Dhāt Ḥimyam was later constructed[72].

A silver plate with a dedication to Dhāt Ṣahran was found in the ruins of the temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaʿan, on the floor of the gallery on the top of the monumental platform (Rb XIV/89, no. 244=SOYCE 2159: ...*sqny/ḏt/Ṣḥrn*...)[73].

Tadūn (*Tdn*)

Another local deity Tadūn was worshipped in the ancient Ḥaḍrami town located in the Wādī Jirdān and known now as the Hajar al-Barīra settlement (Barīra/no. 8: ...*]ḥqny/Tdn*...; Barīra/no. 11:

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[69] Bauer 1995, p. 120.

[70] *Ibidem*.

[71] Bauer, Akopyan, Lundin 1990; but see now Frantsouzoff 1999a, pp. 55-56.

[72] But cf. the statements of the late Bauer that «Dhāt Ṣahran was one of the epithets of Dhāt Ḥimyam» (Bauer, Akopyan, Lundin 1990, p. 172, note 9) or that the dedications to the Raḥbān temple were made by worshipers of Dhāt Ṣahran for whom her «analogy with Dhāt Ḥimyam looked rather transparent» (Bauer 1995, p. 120). S. Frantsouzoff considers the name of Dhāt Ṣahran in the texts from Raybūn as «local spelling of the name of the Qatabanian goddess Dhāt Ẓahrān under which it was worshipped in Raybūn» (see *Appendix III*; see also Frantsouzoff 1999a, pp. 55, 62-63, note 7). But such statement needs strong linguistic and historical argumentation.

[73] See below *Appendix III*, no. 26.

...Tdn...; CIH 594bis: *...hqny/Tdn...*)[74]. In one of the inscriptions, the name of the deity is followed by the name of *Rfḥtm* (Barīra/no. 9: *...Tdn/b-Rfḥtm*)[75]. It is not clear whether it was the name of the sanctuary or that of the town once situated in the Wādī Jirdān, although it is quite possible, similarly, for instance, in the Wādī ᶜAmd, that both names coincided. Unfortunately, the inscriptions didn't clarify the functions of the deity.

The number of the deities of the local pantheon in Ḥaḍramawt was probably not limited by the above mentioned names. Thus, the incense-burner from the Sūna settlement in the Wādī ᶜIdim bore the dedication carved on its base to Banāt ʾĪl *(Bnht-ʾl)* (SŪNA/79/L/1: *Nbḥm/hqnyt[/]Bnht-ʾl[/]h-bn-ṯ*)[76]. M. Arbach sees the name of a deity Ḥalayʾīl *(Ḥlyʾl)* in the inscription from Naqb al-Hajar (ancient *Myfᶜt*) (RES 3869/4: *...b-Sʾyn/w-Ḥwl/w-Ḥlyl/w-mlk/Ḥḍrmt...*)[77].

Recently the Ḥaḍramawt pantheon was enlarged by one more female deity: a certain *ʾlhtn*. Such interpretation of the word *ʾlhtn* attested in the inscription carved on the golden amulet in form of a crescent moon was proposed by M. Maraqten. The amulet from the British Museum (BM 132998) was reported as found at Shabwa. However, in the final version of the translation of the inscription, which reads *ḥwl/ʾlhtn/ᶜlhy/bᶜlt/sʾhrn*, the name of the new goddess was absent: «the (magical) power of the goddess be upon the wearer (*bᶜlt*) of the amulet (*sʾhrn*)»[78]. According to W.W. Müller, whose opinion was cited in the same article, the first word of the inscription is more likely to be understood as the name of already known deity Ḥawl. It should be noted that the translation «let the goddess Ḥawl to protect the wearer (possessor) of the amulet» looks more logical, especially if we take into consideration that Maraqten himself points out the linguistic difficulties in interpretation of the word *ḥwl* as «power», even «magic»[79].

One must not forget that the archaeological investigations of the region of the ancient kingdom of Ḥaḍramawt are far from termination, and we know that several sacral buildings were on the territory of each site and nearby. We may assume that the number of the local deities will increase as archaeological investigations in Ḥaḍramawt are progressing.

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[74] Pirenne 1990, pp. 37-38; about the site see: Wissmann 1962; 1968, pp. 15-16; Lankester Harding 1964, pp. 35-37.

[75] Pirenne 1990, p. 37.

[76] Robin gives the following interpretation of this text: «*Nbḥm* (nom de femme) a dédié aux Filles de ʾīl pour son fils». He considers Banāt ʾĪl, occurred also in several texts from Qatabān and Sabaʾ, as female deities of "Lower rank" worshipped throughout South Arabia, across the tribal or "state" borders. They were deities of "popular religion" and served, probably, as mediators between gods and people (Robin 2001).

[77] Arbach 1997, p. 51; 1997a, p. 42; but cf. the interpretation of Beeston: «The otherwise completely unattested ḤLYʾL is something of a puzzle: was he a semi-divinized royal ancestor, or a hypostasized attribute of the deity (*e.g.* «ʾIl's kindness»)?» (Beeston 1978, p. 203).

[78] Maraqten 1996.

[79] Maraqten 1996, p. 89; cf. also Frantsouzoff 2001, p. 242.

1.2 HIERARCHY OF THE ḤAḌRAMAWT DEITIES AND TEMPLES

As we can judge from the inscriptions, the number of deities of the "federal" and local Ḥaḍramawt panthea was not very high. Unfortunately, one can only guess about the hierarchical subordination of the deities, and about the possible hierarchy of their temples, although some proposals can be assumed.

It seems that like in other regions of ancient Yemen, ᶜAthtar was considered as the "patron" or the "elder" of the all deities, which can be seen from the inscription RES 2693/5 called him the «father» of Sayīn dhū-ʾIlīm (see above).

The primary position in the Ḥaḍramawt pantheon was occupied by the "federal" deity Sayīn, worshipped in different regions under different epithets or hypostasises, the most important of which was Sayīn dhū-ʾIlīm, the hypostasis worshipped in the capital. It seems that his "federal" temple in Shabwa was also on the dominant position among the other temples in Ḥaḍramawt. Such supremacy is reflected in the epigraphic material. For instance, the inscriptions found in the Mayfaᶜān temple in the Raybūn oasis, where the local hypostasis of Sayīn was worshipped, mentioned that the dedication was made «by the authority of Sayīn dhū ʾIlīm» (RbI/87, no. 3=SOYCE 1131; Rb XIV/87, no. 104=SOYCE 1467; Rb XIV/87, no. 108: *...ṯḥtn/Sʾyn/ḏ-ʾlm*)[80]. On the other hand, it seems that the local hypostasises of the supreme "federal" god headed the other deities worshipped in the same region: the similar formula «by the authority of Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān» was attested in the votive inscriptions from the temples Raḥbān and Kafas/Naᶜmān dedicated to Dhāt Ḥimyam (Rb I/88, no. 132 a-b/3; Raybūn-Kafas/Naᶜmān 148/3-4: *...ṯḥtn/Sʾyn/ḏ-Myfᶜn*)[81].

Probably in the most ancient period of the Ḥaḍramawt history Ḥawl, along with Sayīn, was also on the top position in the official pantheon (a divine married couple?), but later on the deity lost its importance. We may also suppose, that his high position had been passed, probably under Sabaean influence, to the goddess Dhāt Ḥimyam, who replaced also in some regions the local Ḥaḍrami goddess Dhāt Ṣahran or merged with her cult (the viewpoint of the late Bauer).

As a rule, the temples from Ḥaḍramawt revealed dedications with the name of only one deity worshipped as a "lord" of the sanctuary, although in a number of cases there were texts with the names of other gods and goddesses. Thus, for instance, inscriptions with the names of Ḥawl and Dhāt Ḥimyam were found in the temples of Sayīn dhū-Madhābum in the Wādī ᶜAmd (CT 3, CT 32, CT 11) and ᶜAthtarūm/ᶜAśtarūm dhāt-Ḥaḍrān in the Wādī Dawᶜan (Raybūn-Ḥaḍrān 323). The silver plate with the name of Dhāt Ṣahran was picked up in the ruins of temple Sayīn dhū-

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[80] FRANTSOUZOFF 1995, p. 18; 2003a, pp. 52-56; pls. 6,8. In my opinion, the recent interpretation of the usage in the Raybūn inscription the expression *ṯḥtn/Sʾyn/ḏ-ʾlm* proposed by Frantsouzoff as the evidence that the authors «...lived in Raybūn, but were originally from *Shabwa* and continued to worship the god Sīn known as *dhū-Alīm*» (2001a, p. 60) is rather artificial and speculative. Probably, he needs it as additional argument to prove his statement (in my opinion rather weak) about "independence" of Raybūn priests from Shabwian authorities (2001, p. 61).

[81] FRANTSOUZOFF 1995, p. 18; 1998, p. 62; 2001a, p. 60.

Mayfaᶜān in the Raybūn oasis (see above). Fragments of two dedications with the name of the "federal" deity Sayīn have been found in the ruins of the temple Ḥaḍrān at the Raybūn settlement, where the local goddess ᶜAthtarūm/ᶜAśtarūm was worshipped (Raybūn-Ḥaḍrān 21: *...[hqn]y/ S[l]y[n];* Raybūn-Ḥaḍrān 64: *...[hqn]y/ S[l]yn*)[82].

It would be rather tempting to suppose that there was a custom to make dedications to the "lower" deity in the temple of the supreme divinity, and to the "federal" deity – in the temple of the local deity. However, such findings may indicate other, and more complex, "interrelations" between gods and goddesses, still unknown to us (*e.g.* relations of kinship). In other words, these "interrelations" were probably attested in the inscriptions, where the pairs of the deities were mentioned, such as ᶜAthtar and Sayīn (Ǧuǧa/Musée d'al-Mukallā 1), Sayīn and Ḥawl (RES 3945; RES 3869; Arbach-Bāfaqīh al-ᶜUqla 1; SOYCE-91/Shabwa, no. 1), Sayīn and Shams (RES 3663), Dhāt Ḥimyam and Dhāt Ḥaśwalām (Hamilton 2A-B+S/75/128).

It is interested to compare these facts with the contents of one of the inscriptions from Shabwa (RES 2693). Along with the «gods and goddesses of the city of Shabwa» (*w-ʾlhy/w-ʾlhty/hgrhn/Sʾbwt*), it also mentioned the «goddesses of the temple of ʾIlīm» (*w-ʾlhty/mhrm-sl/ʾlm*)[83]. In other words, this is the evidence that some divinities of the Ḥaḍramawt pantheon, possibly of low rank, "inhabited" the temple of the "federal" deity in the capital of the kingdom. Probably, the same situation took place in the Raybūn oasis: the inscriptions from the temples Raḥbān and Kafas/Naᶜmān mentioned some secondary deities, genii, subordinated to Dhāt Ḥimyam (see *Appendix III*, no. 22).

It should be noted, that except Sayīn the majority of the above mentioned gods and goddesses occupied certain places in the panthea of the neighbouring territories of the ancient Yemen, in Sabaʾ, Qatabān and Maᶜīn, although the subordination of the deities in each kingdom was different[84].

1.3 "FOREIGN" DEITIES IN ḤAḌRAMAWT

Sometimes the inscriptions with the names of this or that deities of the other kingdoms of the ancient Yemen, including their "federal" deities, occurred in Ḥaḍramawt. Almost in all such cases with certain degree of certitude we may assume that they testified the presence of the groups of the "foreign", *i.e.* non-Ḥaḍrami, population.

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[82] Frantsouzoff 2001, pp. 81-82, 107-108.

[83] Pirenne 1990, pp. 75-76; Maraqten 1996, p. 92.

[84] Goddess Dhāt Ḥimyam occupied one of the most important places in the Sabaean pantheon, and was known in Qatabān; Dhāt Ẓahran was the goddess of some peripheral tribes of the Sabaean area, and was also known in Qatabān; the solar deity Shams was quite popular in Sabaʾ, Qatabān and Maᶜīn (Höfner 1970, pp. 272-277; 283-285; Robin 1996, col. 1165-1166). Until recently Wadd considered to be the "federal" deity of Maᶜīn (Höfner 1970, pp. 289-290; Ryckmans J. 1987, p. 107; Beeston 1991, p. 2; Lundin 1994, p. 186), however, it seems more likely that ᶜAthtar dhū-Qabḍūm and Nakraḥ were on the higher position in the pantheon (Beeston 1984, p. 261; De Maigret, Robin 1993).

ᶜAthtar (*ᶜṯtr*)

Different hypostasises of ᶜAthtar, known from the inscriptions in the northern regions of Yemen, were attested in a number of texts from Ḥaḍramawt. Thus, the inscription from the Shabwa necropolis mentioned ᶜAthtar Shariqān, the deity which was quite popular in Sabaᵓ (S/75/85: *]ᶜṯtr...Sᵌrq[n]*)[85]. The same deity was attested in the final invocation of the large inscription from the Wādī ᶜAbadān along with the two other divinities: Wadd, the "Lord" of Mayfaᶜat, and Sayīn dhū-ᵓIlīm (ᶜAbadān 1/43: *...b-ᶜṯtr/Sᵌrqn/w-Wdm/bᶜl/ Myfᶜt/ w-Sᵎyn/ḏ-ᵓlm...*)[86]. ᶜAthtar dhū-Qabḍūm, who occupied quite a high place in the Maᶜīn pantheon, was attested in the inscription from the Shabwa settlement (however, the first part of the god's name in this inscription was reconstructed; S/75/27: *[ᶜṯtr/ḏ-]Qbḍm[*)[87]. ᶜAthtar Yaġūl, worshipped in Qatabān, seemed to be mentioned in the inscription from Ḥuṣn al-ᶜUrr (Ingrams 8=Ry 622+686: *[ᶜṯ]trm-Yġl*)[88].

ᵓAlmaqah (*ᵓlmqh*)

Several inscriptions with the name of ᵓAlmaqah, the "federal" deity of Sabaᵓ, paleographically rather "early", have been found in Ḥaḍramawt. One of these inscriptions was the dedication of a certain *Sᵎmhrym*, son of *Yqh[mlk]*, *kabir* of the Sabaean dwellers in Shabwa (Hamilton 4: *Sᵎmhrym/bn/Yqh[... ...]l/w-Yṯᶜᵓmr/kbr/nẓḥt/hqny/ᵓlm[qh] [... ...]ḏ/sᵎtq[rᵓ]*)[89]. The dedications to ᵓAlmaqah were known among the texts from the temple Sayīn dhū-Madhābum in the Wādī ᶜAmd (CT 17b: *(Ṣ)dqᵓl/bn/Myfᶜm/... Hysᵎn/hqny/ ᵓlmqh(/)sᵎ... m*)[90], from the temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Raḥbān (SOYCE 673a-b: *Ybḥrᵓl/bn/ Mhqmm/ḏ-Gnzn(/)hqny/ᵓlmqh/ᵓlᶜz*; SOYCE 1087)[91]. The dedication to the "federal" god of Ḥaḍramawt, made, however, «in the name of ᵓAlmaqah», was found in the ruins of the Sayīn temple in the oasis of Raybūn, designated as Raybūn VI (Rb VI/84, no. 5=SOYCE 834: *[.../hqny]Sᵎyn/b-ᵓlmqhw*)[92].

Samiᶜ (*Sᵎmᶜ*)

The name of another Sabaean deity, Samiᶜ, was, probably, attested in one of the inscriptions from the Hajar al-Barīra settlement in the Wādī Jirdān (Barīra/no. 10: *...mm/hq[ny/]Sᵎm[ᶜ...*)[93].

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[85] Pirenne 1978, p. 137, pl. XVIIb; 1990, pp. 62-65, fig. 22.

[86] Pirenne 1981, p. 235; Robin, Gajda 1994.

[87] Pirenne 1990, p. 81, pl. LXIId; Robin 1992.

[88] Ryckmans G. 1962, pp. 219-220; 1962a, pp. 452-453. Recently this deity was turned to be a female representation of ᶜAthtar: cf. Arbach 1997, p. 42; cf. also Frantsouzoff 2001, p. 66.

[89] Brown, Beeston 1954, pp. 51-52; Pirenne 1990, pp. 47-49, Bron 1991, p. 460. Cf. information on the community of the Mineans in Timnaᶜ, the capital of Qatabān, also governed by its *kabīr* (Ghul 1959, pp. 429-433). A stone pedestal from the votive sculpture dedicated to the famous ᵓAlmaqah temple Awwām in the Marib oasis was found at Shabwa (Hamilton 9). Paleographically this text is rather "late", and its possible occurrence in the capital of Ḥaḍramawt can be satisfactory explained as a military trophy brought to Shabwa during the Sabaeo-Ḥaḍrami wars at the beginning of the 1st century AD (cf. Brown, Beeston 1954, pp. 56-60; Pirenne 1990, p. 80).

[90] Caton Thompson 1944, p. 52; Ryckmans G. 1944, pp. 165-166.

[91] Bauer 1995, pp. 123, 141-142, note 64.

[92] Bauer 1995, pp. 141-142.

[93] Pirenne 1990, p. 38.

ᶜAmm (*ᶜm*)

Inscriptions mentioned Sayīn (the "federal" god of Ḥaḍramawt) and ᶜAmm (the "federal" god of Qatabān) once decorated the dwelling house (Building 6) were found at the Raybūn I settlement (Rb I/85, nos. 344-346; Rb I/87, nos. 2+3, 4, 5+6, 7, 8; Rb I/87, no. 1+Rb I/86, no. 3; Rb I/89, no. 2: ... *hqny/ Sʾyn/w-ᶜm*). Most probably, as the late A.G. Lundin stated, the texts served as a sort of declaration of the possessors of the house about the roots of their "ethnic" origin: they were Qatabanians by origin settled in Ḥaḍramawt, in the ancient Raybūn oasis, by several generations[94]. The Qatabanian god ᶜAmm was attested also in one of the Ḥaḍrami documents on palm-leaf stalks found in the ruins of the Raḥbān temple at Raybūn settlement (X.Rb-89, no. 7: *ᶜm/w-ṯḥrmm/zt-Ṣhrn/zbḥm*). The following translation of the text was proposed: «ᶜAmm. And Zāt Ṣahrān appointed a sacrifice», and was interpreted as «... a draft probably compiled with the intention of offering a dedication, or two dedications, to the god ᶜAmm and the goddess Zāt Ṣahrān»[95]. But in my opinion, it is more suitable to interpret the text as «a draft ... compiled with the intention of offering a dedication» to the god ᶜAmm (by Qatabanians dwelled in Raybūn?) in the sanctuary of the local Ḥaḍrami goddess Dhāt (=Zāt) Ṣahran once situated in the ancient town (see above). Namely in this case it was necessary to "appoint" the sacrifice by the "mistress" of the sanctuary.

ʾAnbay (*ʾnby*)

The name of another Qatabanian deity ʾAnbay seems to have been preserved on the fragment of the altar found in the ruins of the temple situated to the north-west of the Sūna settlement in the Wādī ᶜIdim (Ry 673=Wissmann 29: *...]hqny...ʾ[n]by[...*)[96].

Dhāt Ẓahran (*ḏt Ẓhrn*)

The foundation or reconstruction of a temple probably of Qatabanian goddess Dhāt Ẓahran[97] was mentioned in the building inscription found in Shabwa (Hamilton 8: *...mḥrm/ḏt/Ẓhrn*)[98].
The majority of cases listed above can be sufficiently interpreted as offerings by foreigners who made dedications to their "national" divinities in the temples of Ḥaḍrami deities. We may assume that all monumental inscriptions from Ḥaḍramawt mentioning non-Ḥaḍrami deities were left by people, who were not Ḥaḍramies by origin: for instance, it is possible that the inscriptions mentioning *ᶜttr Sʾrqn* was left by a Sabaean inhabitant, *ᶜttr ḏ-Qbḍm* – by inhabitant of Maᶜīn, and *ᶜttr Yġl* – by a Qatabanian. It seems that the practice among South Arabians while abroad of making dedications

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[94] Lundin 1996.
[95] Frantsouzoff 1999a, pp. 55-56.
[96] Ryckmans G. 1962a, pp. 447-448.
[97] Jamme 1947, p. 107; see also Lundin 1987b, p. 461; on the possible Ḥaḍrami attribution of the goddess mentioned in this inscription cf. Brown, Beeston 1954, p. 56.
[98] Brown, Beeston 1954, pp. 55-56; Pirenne 1990, p. 69.

to their "national" gods in the temples of local deities, was not unusual. The strong evidence for its existence is dedications to Sayīn dhū-ʾIlīm and Wadd found in the sanctuary of Artemis on the Greek island of Delos (RES 3952 and RES 3570=M 349)[99].

On the other hand, we cannot exclude the possibility of the existence of the temples of "foreign" deities destined for members of "foreign" communities in some places in Ḥaḍramawt, especially in its capital Shabwa[100]. It's quite possible that A. Hamilton excavated a part of such sacral building in the ancient capital of Ḥaḍramawt[101].

1.4 MONOTHEISM IN ḤAḌRAMAWT

In the late 4th - early 5th centuries AD drastic and sudden changes in the religious life of the entire South Arabia including Ḥaḍramawt took place: the traditional religion was replaced by a monotheistic cult worshipped the Unique God, and by "foreign" monotheistic religions, Judaism and Christianity, penetrated into the region[102].

South Arabian monotheism (raḥmanism)

By the second half of the 4th century AD the polytheistic formulae and names of the deities of South Arabian pantheon started to disappear from the ancient texts. Inscriptions mentioned now the unique deity called Raḥmānan (*Rḥmnn*) or simply God (*ʾln*), and gave him epithets «the lord of heaven» (*mrʾ/sˡmyn*), «the lord of heaven and earth» (*mrʾ/sˡmyn/w-ʾrḍn*), «the master of heaven and earth» (*bʿl/sˡmyn/w-ʾrḍn*)[103]. The monotheistic character of this terminology is commonly accepted. Moreover, it is considered that the inscriptions of the previous period gave clear evidence of the «gradual development of the monotheistic ideas, first, in the frames of traditional religion»[104]. No doubt, this process was under the influence and direct impact of such monotheistic religions as Judaism and Christianity. The majority of the pagan temples terminated their functions, were abandoned or weakened: the bright examples are the "federal" Sabaean temple Awwām and the temple Barʾān in the Marib oasis[105].

Ḥaḍramawt was not an exclusion, and, as we can judge, the same process took place in its religious life. Thus, a prayer to the proposed god Raḥmānan and a pilgrimage performed, probably,

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[99] Cf. Clermont-Ganneau 1908; Plassart 1928, p. 264; Robin 1991a, p. 62, fig. 18.

[100] Cf. a part of dedicative inscription from Shabwa, Hamilton 7, written in Qatabānian dialect (Brown, Beeston 1984, pp. 54-55; Pirenne 1990, p. 78).

[101] See Hamilton 1942, p. 116; Brown, Beeston 1954, pp. 44-45; alternative interpretation see in Breton 1998a; 1998b; see also *Appendix I* below.

[102] Robin 1980; 2003; Beeston 1984, pp. 267-269; Ryckmans J. 1987, p. 110.

[103] Beeston 1984, pp. 267-269; Piotrovskij 1985, pp. 155-167; Lundin 1999, p. 17. Properly speaking, the name of Raḥmānān is translated as «the Merciful».

[104] Piotrovskij 1985, p. 155. On the other hand, the number of scholars rejected the attribution of such texts to a special South Arabian monotheism (raḥmanism) considering them as Judaic and/or, less frequently, Christian texts (Robin 1991, pp. 139-151; 1996, col. 1189-1193; 2000, pp. 46-48; 2003).

[105] Vogt, Glanzman 1997; Glanzman 1998; Vogt 1998; Vogt, Herberg, Röring 2000, p. 12.

to his sanctuary are mentioned in the graffito on the fragment of the marble ornamental frieze from "Raḥmānan" Shabwa (Hamilton 11: *ḫgr/bn[/]s¹lmt[/]l-ys¹mᶜn/Rḥmnn/ ṣlt-s¹...mrṯdm/bn[/]s¹lmt[/]mrṯdm[/]bn/s¹lmt[/]ḫg*)[106]. Scholars proposed to read the name of Raḥmānan in the text of another graffito, copied in the 30-ies by J. Philby (Philby 10=Ry 170=RES 4699: *l-ys¹mᶜn/Rḥmnn/ṣl[wt]*)[107].

It is not clear where in Shabwa a cult of monotheistic deity was worshipped. Logically, one can suppose that it took place in the "federal" temple of ʾIlīm previously dedicated to Sayīn. It can be assumed also that the temple suffered a certain reconstruction like it was, for instance, with the temple excavated in 1995-1996 at Bir ᶜAlī settlement (see below *Appendix I*).

Judaism

Judaism penetrated the territory of Ḥaḍramawt, apparently, about the beginning of the 4th century AD, for which we have both written and archaeological evidence. Thus, *The Ecclesiastic History* of the Byzantine historian Philostorgius written in the early 5th century AD mentioned a noticeable Jewish community in Ḥaḍramawt[108]. According to the late mediaeval tradition, the Judaic community in the city of al-Ḥurayḍa, situated in the Wādī ᶜAmd, in one of the western tributaries of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, appeared *circa* four hundred years before Muḥammad, *i.e.* in the 3rd century AD[109]. There is some other written evidence about the spread of Judaism in Ḥaḍramawt before Islam and during the first Islamic centuries[110]. Judaic attribution of the Greek graffito found at the settlement of Biʾr ᶜAlī in the ruins of the 4th century AD building, which proved to be a synagogue, was quite convincingly shown by G.W. Bowersock[111]. Most probably, the synagogue initially was built in the port-city for foreign merchants, Jews by religion. Later, about the beginning of the 5th century AD, the bigger building intended now for the needs of the local and grown Judaic community was constructed[112]. Its construction well corresponds with the written evidence about the conversion into Judaism of the aristocracy of *banu* Yazᶜan, the tribe possessed the region where the Ḥaḍramawt port-city was situated[113].

Of very high importance is the remark of A.F.L. Beeston that «evidently by this time [in the second half of the 4th-5th centuries AD – *A.S.*] there was a well-established Jewish community (or communities) of some wealth and standing, fully integrated into the social structure [of the Ḥimyarite Kingdom – *A.S.*] and enjoining the patronage of the king»[114]. In all probability, such statement of the British scholar is true also for Ḥaḍramawt.

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[106] Brown, Beeston 1954, pp. 60-62; Pirenne 1990, p. 86; cf. Robin 2000, pp. 50-51.
[107] Pirenne 1990, pp. 86-87; Robin 2000, p. 51.
[108] Bowersock 1993, p. 6.
[109] Frantsouzoff 1995a, p. 320; 1999.
[110] Frantsouzoff 1995a, pp. 320-321; 1999.
[111] Bowersock 1993.
[112] Cf. Sedov forthcoming a.
[113] Robin 1996, col. 1190-1191.
[114] Beeston 1984a, p. 277.

Christianity

Scanty evidence (inscriptions, images of crosses, Islamic written tradition) about the spread of Christianity in South Arabia in general, and in Ḥaḍramawt in particular, can be dated not earlier than the late 5th - early 6th centuries AD, although the inhabitants of Yemen could acquainted with this dogma a hundred years earlier[115]. Philostorgius mentioned the story of the ambassadors of the Byzantine emperor Constantius II (337-361 AD) accompanied by a certain Theophilus sent *c.* 340 AD to the ruler of the Ḥimyarites. In request for the building a church for the use of visiting «Romans» «and any others who might incline towards Christianity», they were allowed to construct three churches: in the Ḥimyarite capital of Ẓafār, on the place of the «Roman market» in Aden, and near the «Persian market» somewhere on the Yemeni coast[116]. Some scholars believed that there are grounds for identification of the last location with *Qnʾ* in the coastal Ḥaḍramawt, but others rejected this supposition[117].

The great impulse for christianisation of the population of Ḥaḍramawt was undoubtedly given by the Ethiopian conquest of its coastal regions. In one of the inscriptions of the Aksumite king Kaleb (*c.* early 6th cent. AD) found in Aksum, the foundation of a church in Ḥimyar (?), in *ʿqnʾl*, is mentioned (RIE 191/35)[118]. According to A.J. Drewes, it's quite probable that the locality can be identified with *Qnʾ*, the ancient port-city of the coastal Ḥaḍramawt[119]. The Greek *Vita Sancti Grigenti* lists three Christian churches built by the same Aksumite king in Acana, the place which I. Shahid also identified as *Qnʾ*: the Church of Ascension; the Church of John, the Forerunner; and the Church of the Apostle Thomas[120]. It should be pointed out that during several seasons of our excavations at the site of Biʾr ʿAlī, which identification with the ancient *Qnʾ* is without doubts, no remains considered to be the ruins of a church, were found.

The presence of quite considerable communities of monophysits in Ḥaḍramawt is evidenced from the «Contents» of the *Book of the Ḥimyarites*, the Syrian manuscript, containing the history of christianisation of South Arabia[121]. In chapters XXIX and XXX, the titles of which have survived, the manuscript described persecutions of the Christians and burning of a church «in the town of Ḥaḍramawt»[122]. The chapter XXXII contained, probably,

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[115] Cf. Robin 1980, pp. 86-88; 1996, col. 1192-1193; Beaucamp, Robin 1981, pp. 48-49, 53-54; Beeston 1984a, pp. 271-276; Piotrovskij 1985, pp. 162-167; Frantsouzoff 1995a, pp. 321-323; but cf. Shahid 1984, pp. 72-73, 86-106 who argued the earlier date.

[116] Beeston 1984a, p. 271; Shahid 1984, pp. 89-90; Piotrovskij 1985, p. 161; Robin 2000, p. 47.

[117] Cf. Shahid 1984, pp. 89-90; Piotrovskij 1985, p. 161.

[118] Schneider 1974.

[119] Drewes 1978, p. 30; see also comments of G.M. Bauer in History of Africa 1990, p. 210.

[120] Shahid 1979, pp. 29, 47-49; see also Finster 1996, p. 300.

[121] Shahid 1963; History of Africa 1990, pp. 213, 221.

[122] The location of the «town of Ḥaḍramawt» is not clear. Ḥaḍramawt is the name of the region in South Arabia, and, probably, in this case the *Book* means one of its ancient urban centres such as Shabwa, Tarīm or Shibām. In the opinion of I. Shahid, the «town of Ḥaḍramawt» must be identified with *Qnʾ* (Shahid 1979, pp. 48-49, 83-87).

a story about Christian martyrs «in the town of [Ha]garayne», the settlement still exists in the Wādī Dawᶜan, the western tributary of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt[123].

Unfortunately none of the pre-Islamic constructions or buildings investigated in Ḥaḍramawt so far can be considered as ruins of church, chapel or any other building related to Christianity. Possibly, the very remote evidence in favour of the existence of the Christian religious buildings in Ḥaḍramawt is the mosque of Nabī Allāh Jarǧis in Tarīm, called, as a rule, the "mosque Sarǧis". In its name R. Serjeant saw the rendering of the name of Saint Sergius, the Christian saint who was quite popular in the late Classical period and in the early Mediaeval times among the Arab speaking Christians, especially in Syria and Northern Africa as well as in Ethiopia[124]. However, it would be an exaggeration to think that this mosque was constructed in Tarīm on the place of the church of St. Sergius even in spite of the observation of I. Shahid that «... after Najrān, Ḥaḍramawt was the most important Christian centre in South Arabia»[125].

We do not know either what was the correlation of the followers of different monotheistic religions in Ḥaḍramawt in 4th-6th centuries AD, although it would be hardly wrong to suppose that the followers of traditional cults still predominated.

[123] Identification of the «city of [Ha]garayne» with al-Hajarān in the Wādī Dawᶜan is almost commonly accepted (cf. Frantsouzoff 1995a, p. 321; History of Africa, 1990, p. 221). Probably, the same episode is mentioned in the Kaleb (?) inscription from Marib (cf. Müller 1972, p. 67; History of Africa 1990, p. 234).

[124] Serjeant 1959, pp. 574-575.

[125] Shahid 1979, p. 84, note 186.

2.

SACRAL BUILDINGS OF ANCIENT ḤAḌRAMAWT: GENERAL CHARACTERISTIC

The exploration of numerous ancient monuments in Ḥaḍramawt revealed a series of excavated and recorded religious structures dedicated to different gods and goddesses of the Ḥaḍramawt pantheon. Its detailed description is presented below (see *Appendix I*). The analyses of collected material allows me to draw some general conclusions about the organisation of the sacral territory, arrangement and functional attribution of different buildings that made up the temple complexes.

Unfortunately, our data doesn't allow us to establish the chronological development of the sacral buildings in Ḥaḍramawt. As far as we can judge, the majority of the excavated and recorded structures were in function during the second half of the 1st millennium BC. More or less precisely we can only date the final phase of their existence, to determine the time of their last reconstruction and destruction, and only in a few cases – the time of their initial construction. Thus, the small group of relatively "early temples", built, probably, in the first half of the 1st millennium BC, were discovered at the Raybūn I settlement in the Wādī Dawᶜan (Buildings 2 and 3 in the temple of Raḥbān, the "early sanctuary" in the Ḥaḍrān temple) and at the site of Jūja in the vicinity of Shibām in the central part of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt (the so-called "early temple"). It gives us some ideas about the initial phase of the Ḥaḍrami religious architecture. Another small group of sacral buildings uncovered at the Biᵓr ᶜAlī settlement and at Sumhurām, represents the Ḥaḍrami temples founded in the late 1st millenium BC or in the beginning of the 1st millennium AD. But still the material for chronological implications and comparisons is very scarce.

2.1 SACRAL TERRITORY

In all probability, each temple whether it was a small isolated building or a big temple complex consisting of several structures had clearly designated sacral territory (*mḥrm*). It was unlikely that such territory was simply marked by the walls of the buildings even in the case of relatively small structures like the *intra muros* temple at Sumhurām. Outer walls surrounding quite a big piece of land around temples or temple complexes were recorded rather often. Thus, it seems the outer walls were

traced around the temples at Bā Quṭfa and near al-Mashgha settlement in the Wādī ᶜIdim, the Ḥuṣn al-Qays temple complex and around one of the temples in Makaynūn[1]. The religious complex at the Biʾr ᶜAlī settlement was enclosed by a stone wall. On the other hand, such big complexes like temples of Mayfaᶜān, Kafas/Naᶜmān and Raḥbān in the Raybūn oasis or the temple near al-Ḥajar settlement were evidently lacking such a construction. Probably, in these cases the sacral territory was marked by the specially designated signs, for instance, by boundary stones and/or stelae (cf. the presence of the gigantic stone stele to the south-west of the Kafas/Naᶜmān temple in the Raybūn oasis). We may assume that the entire territory, on which the religious structures were situated, could be considered as sacral territory (in the temple of Raḥbān, for instance, it was the entire territory of the temple's mound).

It's evident from South Arabian texts that temples and sanctuaries had clearly marked territory[2]. For instance, the inscription from the Barʾān temple in Marib contains strict regulations about what should be done with the goat that climbed over the temple wall[3]. Massive walls fortified with towers surrounded the *maḥram* of this temple in the last period of its existence[4]. The "federal" Sabaean temples Awwām in Marib and another one in Ṣirwāḥ also had monumental walls encircled the sacral τέμενος although some of religious structures were situated outside these walls[5].

The Kafas/Naᶜmān temple in the Raybūn oasis stood among the vast agricultural lands irrigated by seasonal flood water, *sail*, from the neighbouring Wādī Naᶜam. It seems quite likely that along with cereals, vegetables and fodder crops date palms (*Phoenix dactylifera*) and *ᶜilb*-trees (*Zizyphus spina christi*) were also cultivated on the irrigated lands: remains of their root-systems are clearly visible under the slanting light (see *pl. XIX*, 1-2). Remains of the ancient fields are recorded in close vicinity to the Ḥuṣn al-Qays temple complex (see *pl. XLV*, 2).

It looks quite reasonable to suppose that these lands belonged to the temple community and constituted a considerable part of its economy. Inscriptions from the other regions of ancient Yemen provided direct indications that temples had owned agricultural lands and even leased them to the private persons who, in return, paid rent[6]. Moreover, according to A.G. Lundin, there is some evidence that seems to indicate «the cultivation of the temples' lands was an obligation for those free members of the community, who were not included in the temple's staff»[7].

It would not be an exaggeration to suppose this, although at the present state of our knowledge it is mere speculation that such a practice could take place also in Ḥaḍramawt.

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[1] Breton *et al.* 1982, pls. II, V, VI, IX.
[2] Beeston 1949, pp. 215-228.
[3] Nebes 1992, pp. 162-163.
[4] Schmidt 1997/98, pp. 20-26; Vogt, Herberg, Röring 2000, pp. 9-12.
[5] Albright1952, p. 26; fig. 1; Schmidt 1997/98, pp. 28-31; Gerlach, Hitgen 2004.
[6] Lundin 1979; Sima 1999.
[7] Lundin 1994, p. 192.

2.2 BUILDINGS

It seems quite possible, based on the results of the archaeological investigations, to make a rather precise functional attribution of different buildings constituted the Ḥaḍrami temples and temple's complexes.

Sanctuary

There was a building or room at the centre of the temple structures which could be identified as the sanctuary, where main cults related to the deity have been performed. As a rule, the sanctuary was constructed on the massive stone socles, 1.5-3.0 m high. In cases when the temples were erected on the steep wadi slopes, the sanctuary was located in the centre of the monumental platform, the height of which could be up to 8.0 m, as it was in the Mayfaᶜān temple in the Raybūn oasis. The entrance to the sanctuary was almost always designed as a four-column portico raised on the porch attached to the narrow side of the socle. The exclusions were small constructions like the Ḥalsum temple at Bā Quṭfa or similar small temples on the wadi slopes near ᶜAdhāb in the mouth of the Wādī al-ᶜAyn, in the vicinity of Qārat Qibḍa, near Ḥuṣn al-ᶜUrr etc. The solemn entrances were also absent in Building 3 of the Raḥbān temple, supposed to be the "early sanctuary" of the goddess Dhāt Ṣaḥrān, in the "early" sanctuary of the Ḥaḍrān temple (both at Raybūn I settlement), in the "early temple" excavated at the site of Jūja. In some cases, the entrance to the territory around the sanctuary was additionally designed as the four-column propylon, like it was, for instance, in the Mayfaᶜān temple in the Raybūn oasis, in the temples of Ḥuṣn al-Qays and az-Zālif 1 (Tiheya), and in the temple of ʾIlīm at Shabwa.

Stone stairways led to the entrances of the sanctuaries. They could be built against the façade of the porch with four-column portico (Building 4 of the Raḥbān temple) or against its lateral side or sides (Mayfaᶜān temple). The combinations of both variants are also known (the Ḥaḍrān temple and, possibly, the temple of Kafas/Naᶜmān). The more magnificent and monumental staircases, decorated by the lateral parapets, led to the temples situated on the slopes of the wadis. Its length reached 40.0 m (Mayfaᶜān temple), 65.0 m (temple in the vicinity of Makaynūn) or even 68.0 m (temple near the site of al-Ḥajar). The entrance with staircases to the *intra muros* temple at Sumhurām was designed as a small antechamber with high raised floor. It seems that together with the four-column portico such monumental staircases constituted one of the distinctive features of the religious architecture of the ancient Ḥaḍramawt[8].

The orientation of the sanctuaries built on the slopes of the wadis is varied, depending, probably, on the suitable access to it from the foothill. On contrary, the sanctuaries constructed in the valleys or at the ancient settlements have strictly fixed orientation. Thus, the sanctuary of the Kafas/Naᶜmān temple is oriented along an east-west axis (entrance is turned to the east). Building 3 ("early sanctuary") in the temple of Raḥbān has the same orientation also with the entrance from

[8] Cf. Breton 1980, pp. 5-6.

the east. The sanctuary of the Ḥaḍrān temple and the "late sanctuary" (Building 4) of the temple of Raḥbān are oriented along the north – south direction (their entrances are turned to the south), the *extra muros* temple at Sumhurām – along the north-east – south-west direction. A similar orientation was recorded in the sanctuaries situated at Raybūn II and Raybūn III settlements, in the "early temple" at Jūja, in the temple of Sayīn dhū-Madhābum in the Wādī ᶜAmd, in the sanctuaries at al-Mashgha, Makaynūn, al-Qūff, aṣ-Ṣafīl 1, aṣ-Ṣafīl 2 and Laglāt settlements. The entrances of the majority of these buildings were oriented towards the south, although their northern orientation did also occur[9]. In the temple at Biʾr ᶜAlī settlement one of the sanctuaries was oriented along the east-west direction (entrance is turned to the east), while another one – along the north-south axis (entrance is turned to the south).

Another peculiarity in the orientation of some urban temples must be pointed out: the façade of the huge Raḥbān temple complex, which occupied the dominant position on the southern outskirts of the central settlement of the ancient Raybūn oasis, faced to the south, i.e. in the direction opposite to the urban houses. A similar orientation was also recorded for other Ḥaḍrami temples located at the ancient settlements: for the temple of Sayīn dhū-Madhābum at the settlement near al-Ḥurayḍa, the temples at the settlements of al-Mashgha, Makaynūn and al-Qūff.

Practically all excavated sanctuaries in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt had two rectangular rooms situated on both sides of the corridor leading from the entrance. Such edifices can be also easily traced in the corners of the sanctuaries still not unearthed. The interior of one of the rooms was always occupied with the remains of the staircase leading to the roof of the building. The functional purpose of another room is not clear, however at least in one case (the temple of Kafas/Naᶜmān) we may suppose that it served as the temple's treasure. It's quite probable that the walls and roofs of the corner rooms rose slightly above the roof level of the rest of the building. In other words, the façade of the sanctuaries were designed in a form of two towers flanking the entrance to the building behind the four-column portico. The possibility of such reconstruction is indicated by the stone incense-burners often found in the ruins of the temples and known from many museums' collections: the lateral sides of these objects are believed to represent the façades of the real South Arabian buildings[10]. A series of rock drawings recorded by G. Lankester Harding in the region of Yathuf in the neighbourhood of the Wādī Jirdān in the Western Ḥaḍramawt and published by A.F.L. Beeston (Yathuf 18, 22, 23) could also be interpreted as representations of the sanctuaries with frontal towers[11].

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[9] In all probability, almost all these sanctuaries (with one exception – the Building 4 or the "late sanctuary" of the temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Raḥbān) were parts of the temples dedicated to Sayīn, the hypostasis of the "federal" Ḥaḍramawt deity.

[10] Krachkovskaja 1947, p. 108; Van Beek 1959; see, for instance, CIH 682; RES 3853; RES 4249; RES 4255; YM 468; YM 473 (CIAS, I.1, p. I.223; I.2, pp. I.279-294) etc.; see also Breton, Baṭayāᶜ 1992.

[11] G. Lankester Harding described them as representations of the forts ("They look almost like profiles of the forts"), while A.F.L. Beeston preferred to interpret them as the images having some relation to water (?) ("a curious design having some significance in relation to water"). Wide contour of the drawings is accomplished with the black paint, the inner space is filled with white background, on which the proper names are written in white paint (Lankester Harding 1964, pp. 50-55, pls. LII, LIII; see also Pirenne 1990, pp. 22-23, fig. 6).

The core of the sanctuary was the hypostyle hall divided into several naves by the rows of pillars. Smooth limestone slabs often paved the floor of the halls. There is insufficient material to make generalisations but however it should be pointed out that the sanctuaries of the temples dedicated to Sayīn had, as a rule, two rows of columns dividing the hall into three naves (temples of Mayfaᶜān, Madhābum, Raybūn VIII, Ḥuṣn al-Qays, temple near the al-Ḥajar settlement, *intra muros* and *extra muros* temples at Sumhurām), while the sanctuaries of the female deities like Dhāt Ḥimyam and ᶜAthtarūm/ᶜAśtarūm – four rows dividing the hall into five naves (temples of Kafas/Naᶜmān and Ḥaḍrān). The halls of the sanctuaries of the "early temples" (Building 3 of the Raḥbān temple, the "early temple" at Jūja) had three naves.

The permanent accessory of the sanctuary was the rows of benches usually set up in the side naves of the hall between the bases of the pillars (*pl. XI*) or/and against the walls. These constructions were often rather built in the other parts of the religious complex also closely connected with the sanctuary like it was, for instance, in the roofed gallery surrounded the sanctuary on the top of the monumental platform in the temple of Mayfaᶜān.

The large cube podium situated, probably, under the open sky, was placed on the main longitudinal axis of the hall, against or, rarely, near the wall opposite the entrance. As we can judge, the height of the podium was about 1.0 m or slightly more. It is hard to determine the purpose of such construction, but at least in one case (sanctuary of the Kafas/Naᶜmān temple in the Raybūn oasis) a stone staircase attached to its façade led on the top surface of the podium.

The offering table with its long gutter for liquid and/or blood sacrifices was mounted into the pavement in front of the podium. The square around the offering table was sometimes fenced with stone blocks. Apparently, it was the place where some of the most recent donations to the deity were exhibited, and ritual vessels intended for ablutions were stored. Transportable altars and incense-burners, some of them on the high pillar bases, were set up in the corners of the above-mentioned square or in the centre of the hall (*extra muros* and *intra muros* temples at Sumhurām). A special type of the permanent altar intended for the incense burning was discovered in the roofed gallery surrounding the sanctuary in the temple of Mayfaᶜān.

The layout of the Ḥaḍrami sanctuaries described above was absolutely identical both for the large temples or temple complexes like Mayfaᶜān, Kafas/Naᶜmān and Ḥaḍrān, and for the small temples like the temple Ḥalsum at Bā Quṭfa, where it was presented in the simplified variant. It seems that some excavated temples in Shabwa showed the layout of the sanctuaries, which was quite different from what we know in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt. At least two of them, the so-called temple of Dhāt Ẓahrān and the small *intra muros* temple, represented the type, which was known in Sabaʾ as temples with inner courtyard or "the Court Temples"[12]. Could this be the temple to "foreign" deities erected in the Ḥaḍrami capital? Furthermore, very little is preserved from the "federal" temple of ʾIlīm. Its sanctuary was not found, but the entrance

[12] Schmidt 1982; 1997/98; Darles 1998, pp. 209-211; Vogt, Herberg, Röring 2000, pp. 9-15.

to the sacred territory was designed as the four-column propylon ending the monumental staircase (compare with the layout of the Mayfaᶜān temple in the Raybūn oasis).

A rather specific layout showed the temple in the Raybūn oasis denoted as Raybūn VI. It seems that its sanctuary was designed as a colonnade gallery encircling the central altar or podium construction. The T-shaped socle as well as the small cella reconstructed in the western part of the edifice had no similarities in the Ḥaḍramawt religious architecture. Unfortunately, no excavation has been conducted at Raybūn VI, which could explain its peculiarity. Epigraphic material collected in the ruins was very fragmentary, although it allowed identifying the name of the deity worshipped in the temple as one of the hypostasis of Sayīn, the "federal" deity of Ḥaḍramawt[13].

Some peculiar features were traced in the layout of the Ḥaḍrami "early temples" (Building 3 of the Raḥbān temple and the "early temple" at Jūja). The cube podium was not discovered there (the remains of the structure in the centre of the Building 3 of the Raḥbān temple was, for sure, the late addition), but instead of it a row of three small rooms with wide openings was constructed against the wall opposite the entrance of the sanctuaries. It is possible that, similarly for instance to the temple of Nakraḥ in Barāqish, different kind of altars or offering tables were set up in those rooms (a high prismatic podium intended, probably, for a small transportable altar was found in the central room of the "early temple" in Jūja).

Refectory

In addition to the sanctuary, almost all big temple complexes in Ḥaḍramawt revealed another building, within which there was a hypostyle hall. In the ancient oasis of Raybūn such constructions were recorded in the temples of Mayfaᶜān, Raḥbān, Kafas/Naᶜmān, Raybūn VIII. Similar buildings are known also in the temples of Ḥuṣn al-Qays, az-Zālif 1 (Tiheya), in the temple near the settlement al-Ḥajar[14]. The room with central pillars was discovered in the *intra muros* temple at Sumhurām. The functional purpose of these structures can be judged from the results of our excavations in the temple of Kafas/Naᶜmān (west hall in the Building 1).

The fire-places in the central part of the hall, the benches and banquet tables between pillars, considerable amounts of fragments of table- and kitchenware as well as animal bones scattered over the floor of the building – all such kind of things point to this structure in the temple of Kafas/Naᶜmān being the refectory. Indirect confirmation of this could be proved by the findings of a heap of animal bones in the rubbish layer close to the entrance of the Building 1. Such "dumps of leftovers" were discovered near refectories in the temples of Raḥbān (Building 7) and Mayfaᶜān (Building 2).

There were additional rooms in the refectories, where, as we think, the ritual meals were arranged, for which functional purpose we can only guess. Probably, some of them served as stores for the reserves and wares intended for ritual banquets. One of the rooms in the refectory of Kafas/Naᶜmān

[13] Bauer 1995, p. 141.
[14] Breton *et al.* 1982, figs. III, IV.

temple, open wide to the west hall, features by the high floor level paved with polished slabs (room 9). Similar room with a raised paved floor was discovered also in the temple of Mayfaᶜān, however not in the refectory but in close vicinity to it (room 5). These may have served as places for sacrifice during ritual feasts.

"Houses of priest"

Buildings obviously used as dwelling quarter were recorded in the temple complexes of Raḥbān, Mayfaᶜān and Kafas/Naᶜmān. The preserved ground floor of one such dwelling excavated in the Raḥbān temple (Building 2) showed the layout typical of ancient houses in Ḥaḍramawt: a central corridor ending with the stairway led to the upper floor, and small stock rooms and auxiliary rooms located on the both sides of the corridor. A building of probably similar characteristics was partially excavated near the so-called Dhāt Ẓahrān temple in Shabwa by Hamilton[15]. It is likely that these buildings can be identified as the houses of priests, who had permanent residence in the temples.

Other structures

In addition to the above-mentioned buildings there were other and more primitive constructions on the territory of the temple complexes. Usually they were one-floor structures made from rough dressed stones and/or mud-bricks. A lot of pottery fragments and simple tools such as stone hammers and grinding stones were found in the ruins of these buildings. We can suppose that auxiliary dwellings and temple's workshops were located there.

As it is known from the Ḥaḍrami texts, the most common votive objects presented to the temples were stone stelae or metal plates with textual dedications (*ms³nd*), stone or metal anthropomorphic or zoomorphic statues (*ṣlm*) with the corresponding texts on their pedestal[16]. Textual dedications were also engraved on the limestone slabs facing the walls of the structures, altars, offering tables, incense-burners and benches in the sanctuaries and the stairs and parapets of the stairways. The donors themselves could hardly accomplish such dedications. Most probably, there were special workshops of engravers and smiths, who performed these tasks of a sufficiently high quality. For the temples like

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[15] Brown, Beeston 1954, plan 2; Breton 1998a; 1998b.

[16] Quite a number of the Ḥaḍrami texts, especially those from the temples in Raybūn oasis, mentioned also *bḥt* as the object of dedication. In some cases the quantity of such objects is rather significant – up to several dozens (94 pieces as mentioned in Raybūn-Ḥaḍrān 92; Frantsouzoff 2001, pp. 122-123). Following the proposition of M. al-Ghūl, accepted also by the late G.M.Bauer, Frantsouzoff argues the interpretation of the term *bḥt* as «a votive phallus» (Frantsouzoff 1995, pp. 16-18; 2001, p. 123), although such interpretation meets a number of obstacles. As A. Sima pointed out, «Als Schlußfolgerung ergibt sich somit, daß die Deutung von *bḥt* als Votivphallus weder etymologisch noch realienkundlich gerechtfertigt erscheint. Das fragliche Lexem *bḥt* bezeichnet daher ein nicht näher bestimmbares Votivobjekt» (Sima 2000, p. 299). The burnt clay object from the temple of Raḥbān, which «resembled votive phalli» for Frantsouzoff (Peters 1996, fig. 4; Frantsouzoff 1995, pl. II, top), is, in fact, nothing to do with this important male organ.

Raḥbān and Ḥaḍrān as well as for other *intra muros* sanctuaries we can surmise that such dedications were prepared in the urban workshops located on the territory of the ancient town or village[17]. As for the temple complexes like Mayfaᶜān located quite far from any settlement, the workshops, quite surely, were concentrated in the structures, the remains of which were discovered at the foothills of the slope on which the temple was built[18].

2.3 INTERIOR AND EXTERIOR DECORATION OF THE TEMPLES

The interior of the sanctuaries, refectories and dwellings and the decoration of their outer walls looks quite simple and monotonous. Textual dedications to the deities dominated the exterior and interior walls of the buildings, stairs and parapets of the stairways, seats and backs of the benches, floors slabs, altars, incense-burners and offering tables. Votive inscriptions were also engraved on numerous objects used in the rituals and served for storage purposes such as big ceramic vessels, stone basins for water etc.

Ḥaḍrami monumental votive inscriptions were quite uniform both in the style of the letters and in the formulary. Usually they contained the expression "the donor so and so has dedicated to the deity so and so", which then was followed by the explanation, often quite detailed, of the reasons for the dedication. In addition, "short" and "very-short" variants of the dedicative formula were also in use, when the reasons of dedication as well as the precise indication to which deity it was offered were omitted. As a result, decorative slabs facing the walls of the buildings, steps and parapets of the staircases, seats of the benches revealed only the name of the donor. In all probability, such "very-short" dedications were engraved on those parts of the temple buildings in which construction or reconstruction was paid for by the donor. The "clear" examples of such dedications are the "wall of Dasmān" in the Raḥbān temple or the "bench of Qatham" in the temple of Mayfaᶜān. In those temples, on particular parts of the external decoration of the northern wall of the Building 3 and on the lateral face of the long bench in the roofed gallery around the sanctuary respectively, the names of these donors were repeatedly engraved with strict regularity[19].

The floors of the temples, the surfaces of the inner courtyards, squares and galleries around

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[17] The donors could use the urban craftsmen not related to any particular temple in making, for instance, the dedication in metal (cf. fragment of the bronze plate with votive inscription found in the Building 5 on the settlement of Raybūn I; Akopyan 1995, fig. 8) or donation of metal figurines (from the latter the pedestals with the traces of the fastening of the figures are usually remained; for the votive bronze figurine found in one of the temples of Biʾr Ḥamad see Sedov 1995, fig. 6). In this respect it should be noted that the remains of metallurgic industry reported from the settlements in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt could not be connected with any religious buildings (Shemakhanskaja 1990; 2000). The dedicative inscription with quite characteristic mistake found in the ruins of Ḥaḍrān temple testifies, probably, the lack of special workshop of engravers related to the temple (Raybūn-Ḥaḍrān 26). In the name of the deity in the final invocation the carver initially engraved the letter 𐩮 = *sˡ* (the first letter of the name 𐩲𐩵𐩮 = *Sˡyn*), but then corrected it on 𐩠 = *ᶜayn* (the first letter of the name 𐩣𐩺𐩧𐩠 = *ᶜttrm*). Such a "misprint" obviously testifies that the carver was more familiar with the dedications to the "federal" deity of Ḥaḍramawt fabricated in his workshop than to the local goddess.

[18] On the bronze workshop discovered in the temple of Barᶜān see Vogt, Herberg, Röring 2000, p. 11.

[19] Lundin 1997, pp. 19-25; see also *Appendix III.*

the sanctuaries, refectories and dwellings were paved with polished limestone slabs. Rather often slabs with fragments of old dedicatory inscriptions occurred in these floors, obviously taken from the previous sacral constructions (see *pls. XXV*, 2; *XXX*, 2).

Such an apparent "disrespectful" treatment of the votive texts containing sometimes the name of the deity worshipped in the temple is quite surprising: the slabs were used to pave the

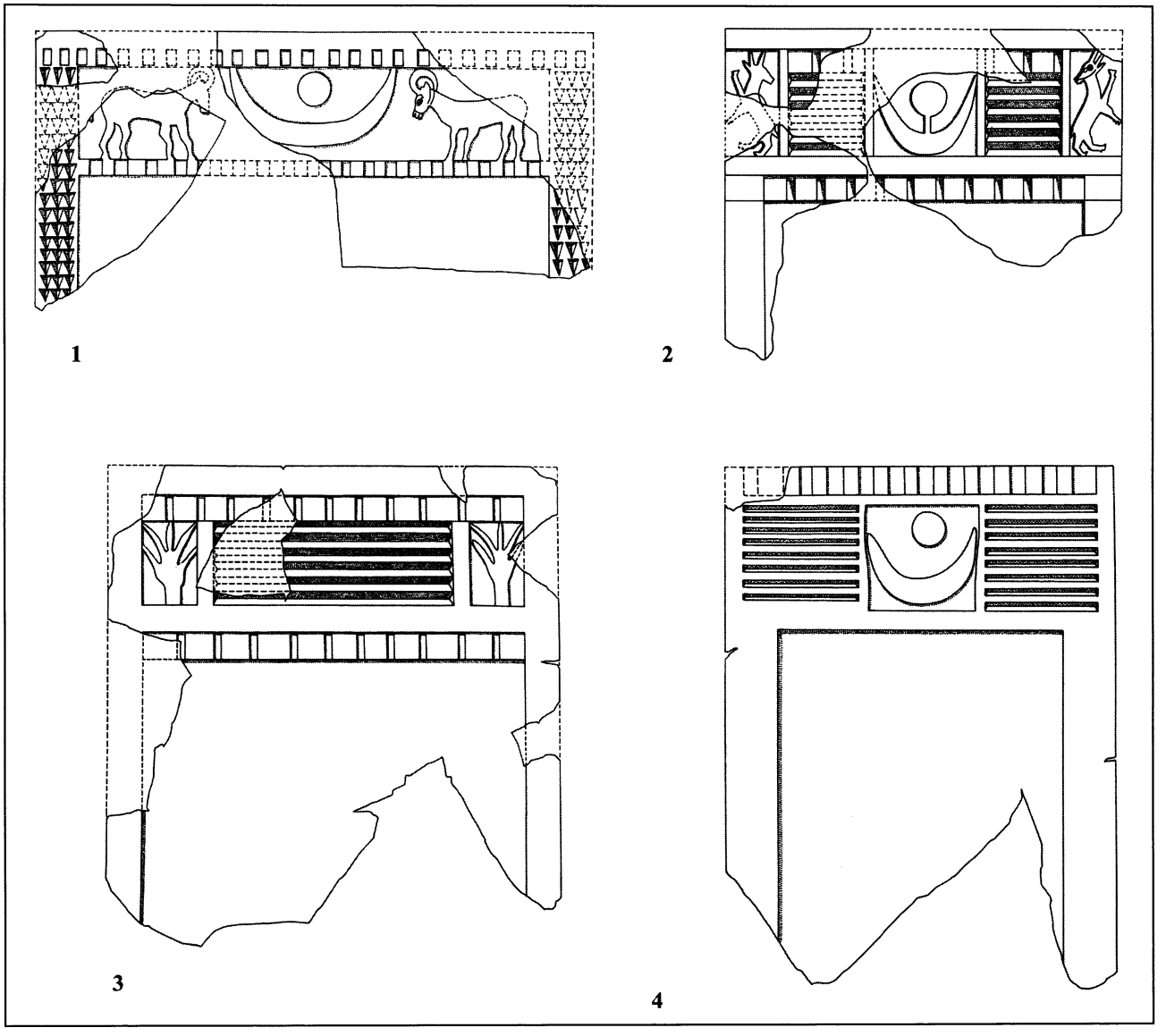

Figure 1. Votive stelae, different types of decoration (drawing by A. Sedov). 1 - temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Raḥbān (Rb-I/88); 2-4 - temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaʿān (Rb-XIV/87). No scale.

floors and were trampled on by visitors. A reasonable explanation could be that in addition to economy in reconstruction and repair, there was a custom prohibiting the discarding of old dedications from earlier times. Probably, they had to remain in the temple until its destruction, although could be used not for their initial purpose[20].

Besides the dedicatory inscriptions on the facing slabs, votive stelae-*musnad*, usually bearing quite long texts, were also set up in the temples (*pls. XXXIII-XXXV; XLVII*). It is not clear whether these offerings were placed in special edifices or whether they were displayed in the various parts of the temples. Some dozens of them were found during the excavations of the temple of Mayfaᶜān and many were discovered at the foot of the eastern corner of the monumental platform. Despite that after falling down the stelae were broken-up into quite often small pieces, the state of preservation of their surfaces was still good enough to draw the definite conclusion that the offerings were stored under the roof and not exposed in the open air. Was it a kind of "expositional gallery" for the stelae in front of the entrance to the sanctuary along the eastern side of the monumental platform something similar to the peristyle hall of the temple of Awwām in Marib?[21] In the roofed gallery to the north of the sanctuary several stelae-*musnad* were found mounted on to special kind of pedestals set up against the walls of the gallery (see *pl. XXXII*, 1).

The decor of the stelae-*musnad* occupied its upper part deserved special attention. The most common decoration was the row of antelopes' heads, usually strongly stylised (*figs. 1*:3; *2*:3), but more artistic representations of animals, for instance, leopards and ibexes in the so-called "heraldic" poses did also occur (*figs. 1*:1,2; *2*:3; *3*:4). Different types of geometric ornamentation were quite popular as well (*figs. 1*:4; *2*:1,2,4; *3*:1-3). In the central part of the ornamental register the lunar and solar (or astral?) symbols of the deity were sometimes engraved[22].

The painted stelae-*musnad* (many of them still preserving the remains of red and black paint) mounted into special constructions sufficiently diversified the interior decoration of the temples. Lower parts of animal figures, usually the front legs of the bulls showed in profile, were executed in lower relief on lateral sides of some of these pedestals or "chairs" (*fig. 4*:1-3; see *pl. XXXII*, 2). Such finds are known from the excavations in the ruins of the Mayfaᶜān temple in the ancient Raybūn oasis and in the ruins of the Ḥalsum temple at Bā-Quṭfa[23].

Probably the stelae containing the most prestigious and important dedications or information were placed in the more visible and visited parts of the temples. It seems that in the temple of

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[20] Cf. the use of the stone blocks with fragments of the votive texts in the construction of irrigation devices discovered in the Wādī Naᶜam and Wādī Mīḥ and buildings at the settlements of Raybūn XXIV and Raybūn XXI (see SEDOV 1997, pp. 41-42). But all these constructions were accomplished already after the destruction of the Mayfaᶜān and Kafas/Naᶜmān temples located in the immediate neighbourhood.

[21] Cf. ALBRIGHT 1952, fig. 6.

[22] See GROHMANN 1914, pp. 5-56 about the symbols of the South Arabian deities, which is still the best work on this subject; see also WEBER 1909.

[23] BRETON 1979, pl. IX.

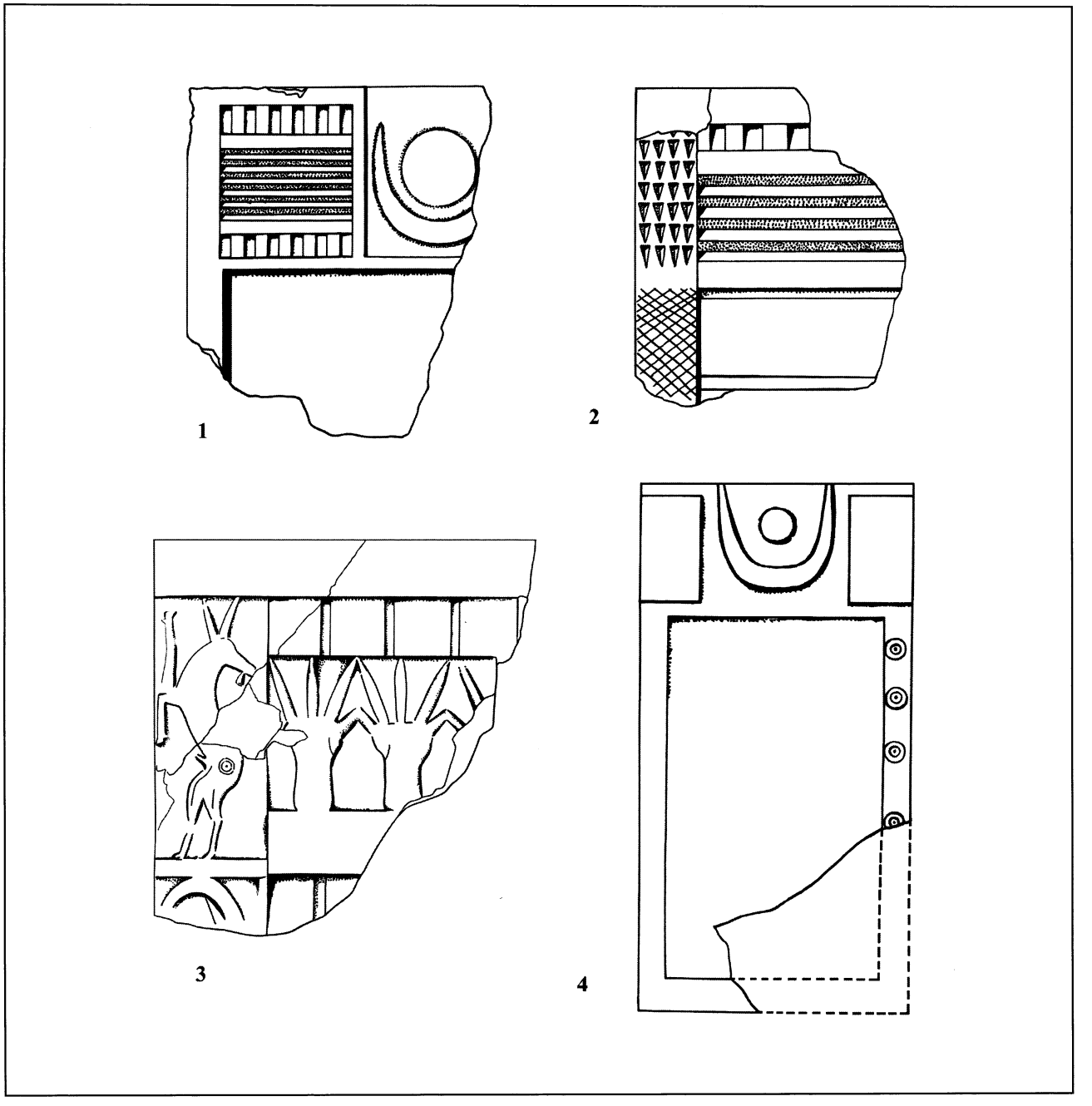

Figure 2. Votive stelae, different types of decoration (drawing by A. Sedov). 1-2 - temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Raḥbān (Rb-I/90); 3-4 temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān (Rb-XIV/90). No scale.

Mayfaᶜān such a place was a four-column propylon at the end of the monumental staircase in front of the passage to the sanctuary: partially preserved "early" text about the construction of the temple (SOYCE 1129=Rb XIV/87, no. 1a) was found in this area.

Imagery also played an important role in temple decorations: quite a number of stone pedestals with traces of fastened metal, wooden or stone sculptures were found during the course of excavations

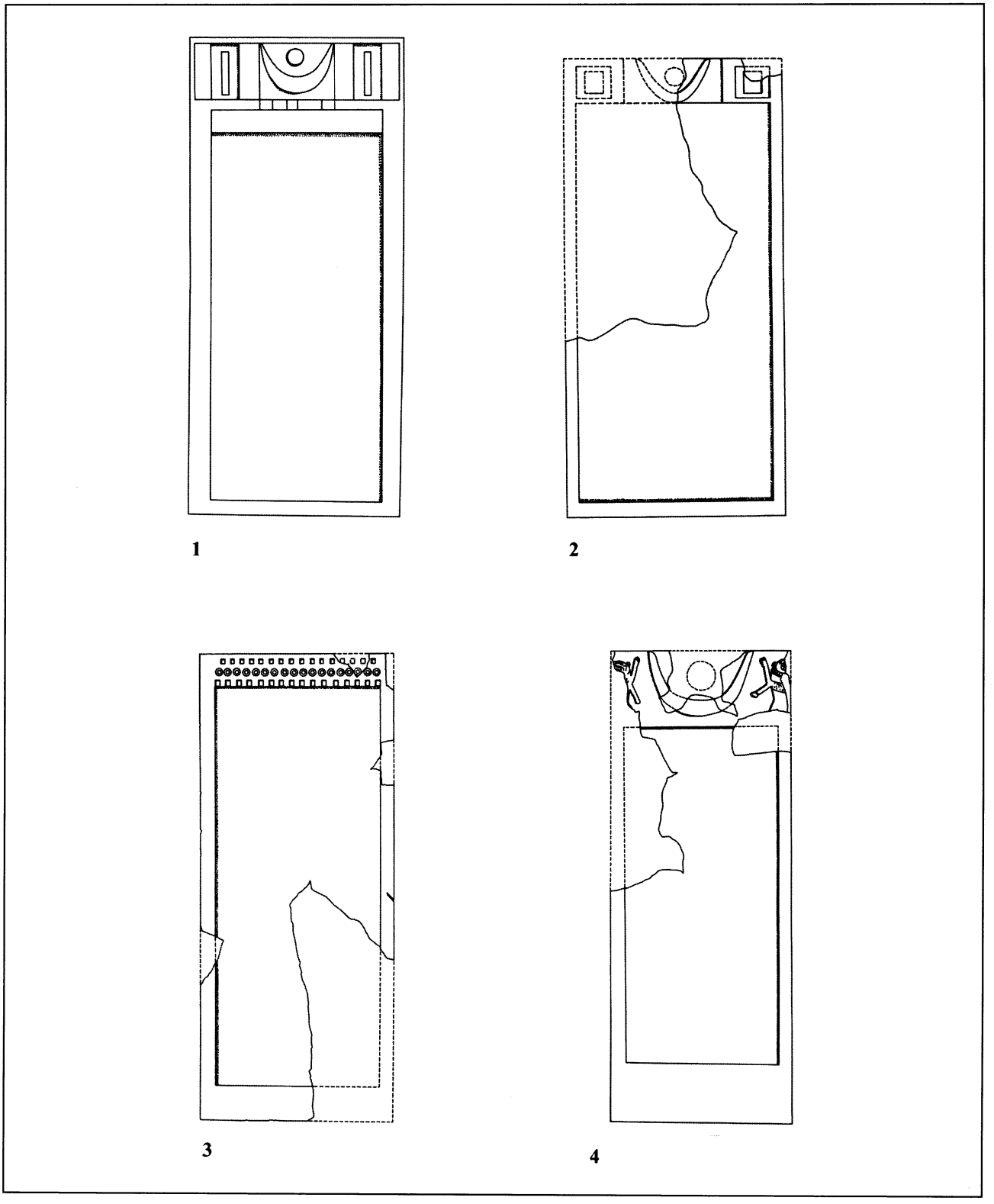

Figure 3. Votive stelae, different types of decoration (drawing by A. Sedov). 1-4 - temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān (Rb-XIV/87). No scale.

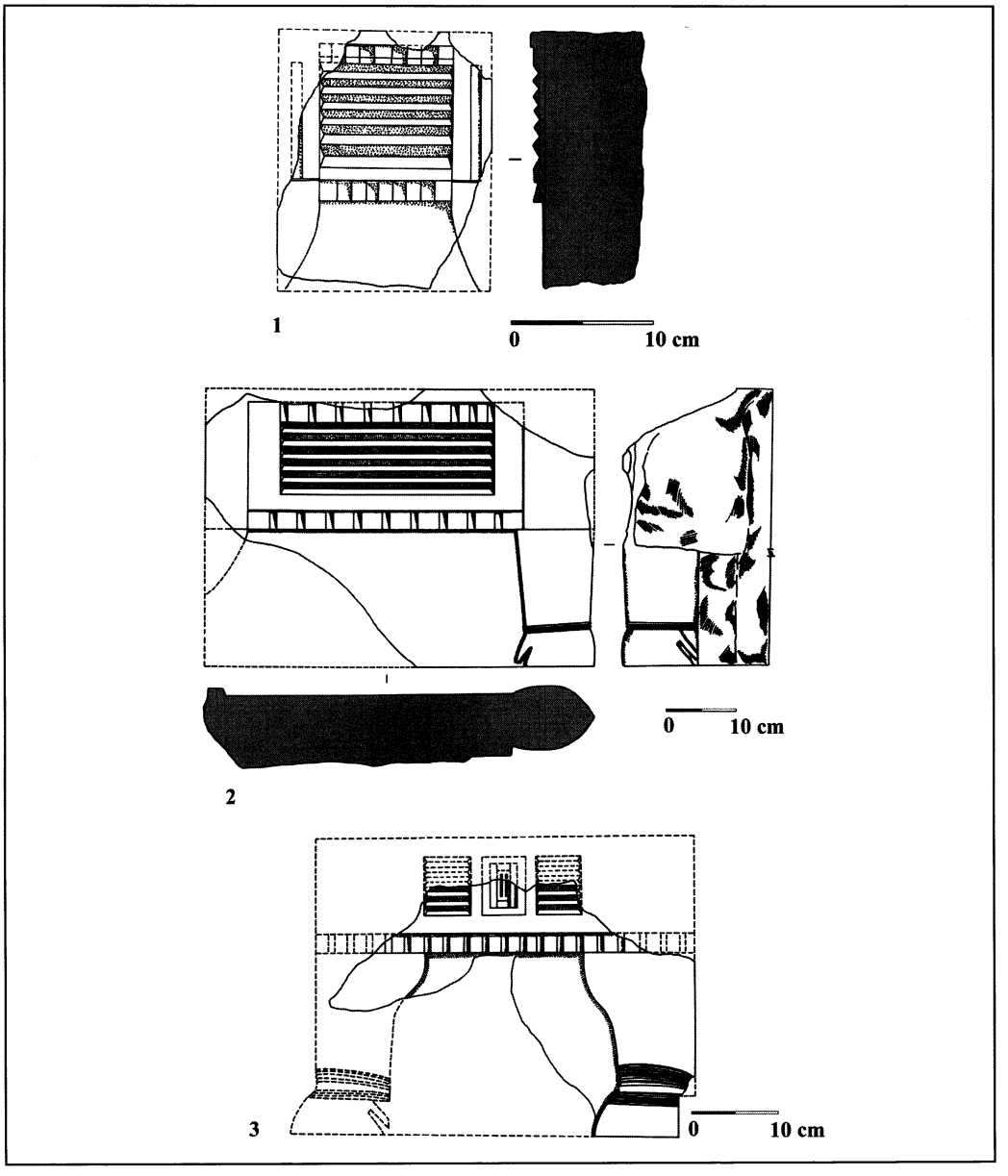

Figure 4. Architectural decoration and parts of pedestals for votive stelae (drawing by A. Sedov). 1-3 - temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān (Rb-XIV/87).

(see *pl. XXXVII*, 1). The figurines themselves were very seldom found and then often in fragments. Usually they represented people making offerings, but sometimes imageries of ibexes, often strongly stylised, symbolising, obviously, an animal sacrificed to the deity do also occur. In the ruins of Kafas/ Naᶜmān temple, the base for stele or the foot of the offering table representing the stylised figurine of an ibex was found (see *pl. XII*, 2).

The al-Mukallā Museum possesses the massive figurine of an ibex, which served, probably, also as the foot of the offering table (*pl. XLVI*). The names of Yadaᶜ³ab Ghaylān, son

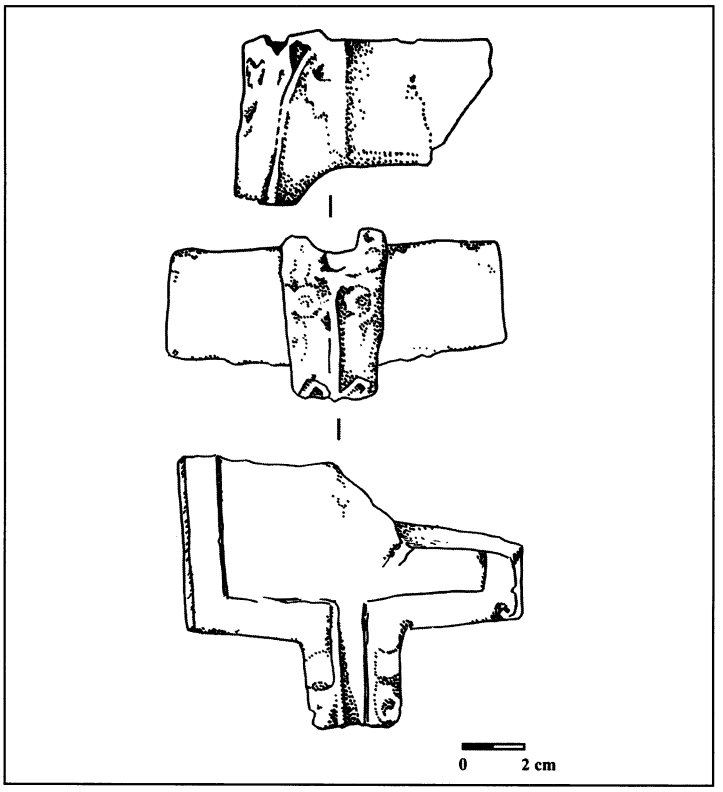

Figure 5. Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Raḥbān, offering table, fragment (drawing by Ju. Kozhin).

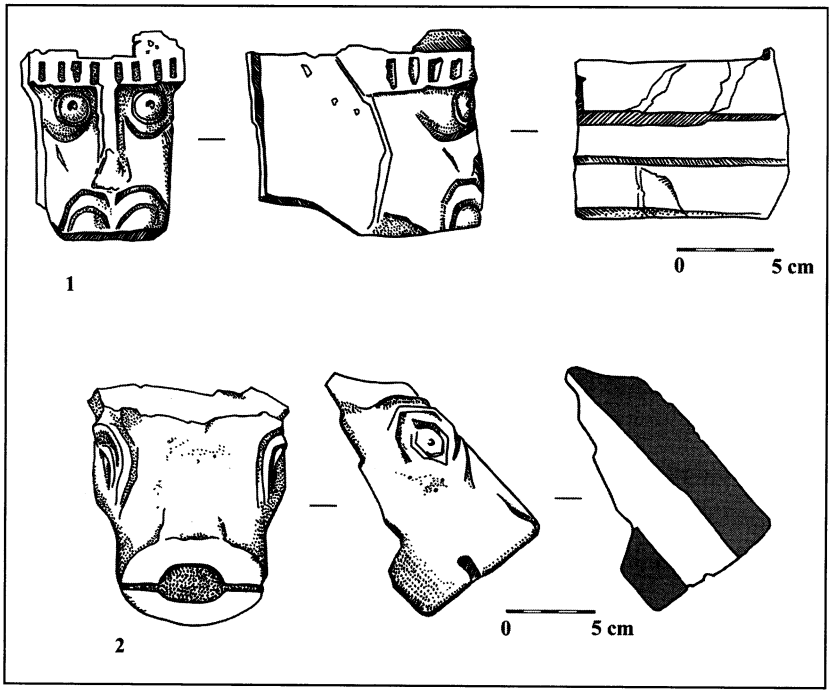

Figure 6. Spouts of offering tables (drawing by Ju. Kozhin). 1 - Raybūn IV settlement (Rb-IV/87); 2 - temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaʿān (Rb-XIV/87).

of Sumhuriyām, *mukarrib* of Ḥaḍramawt (*Yd^{c}ʾb/[Ġ]yl[n]/bn/Sʾmhrym/mkrb/Ḥḍrmt*) and Sayīn (*Sʾyn*) were engraved on the sculpture (Musée d'al-Mukallā 219)[24]. The piece was found on the settlement near al-Ḥurayḍa in the Wādī ^{c}Amd and evidently was the offering to the temple Sayīn dhū-Madhābum made by the ruler of Ḥaḍramawt. It is interesting to note that a miniature replica of this sculpture was found in the sanctuary of Kafas/Na^{c}mān standing near the long gutter of the offering table mounted in front of the central altar or podium.

The gutters of offering tables ended with quite schematically accomplished heads of the bulls (*figs. 5*; *6*:1-2; see *pl. XXXVII*, 2).

Animals also symbolised a zoomorphic manifestation of the deity. As we know Sayīn, the "federal" deity of Ḥaḍramawt, had at least two animal manifestations: the eagle and the bull. The inscription RES 4698/3-4 calls Sayīn dhū-ʾIlīm, the hypostasis of the "federal" deity worshipped in Shabwa, "l'Aigle de Ṣalfa^{c}ān, un aigle venu a lui du nord"[25]. One of the types of the Ḥaḍramawt coinage bore the eagle image on the reverse (*pl. XVII*, 1)[26], but the most of the other types showed the bull or bull's head on the reverse almost always accompanied by the legend of Sayīn (𐩲𐩡𐩣 = *Sʾyn*) (*pl. XVII*, 2-4)[27].

The French Archaeological Mission discovered in Shabwa almost in front of the propylon of the "federal" temple Sayīn dhū-ʾIlīm four low pedestals which, judging by the traces on its upper surfaces, were intended for the animal statues of approximately life-size. On the reconstruction proposed by the French scholars these pedestals are occupied, for unknown reasons, by the sculptures of horses (see *fig. 19*), although there are more grounds to see here the figures of the bulls, the zoomorphic manifestation of the "federal" deity Sayīn. A lower podium or pedestal made from mud-bricks with two oblong cavities intended, perhaps, for mounting a bronze (?) sculpture was discovered in the sanctuary of the *intra muros* temple at Sumhurām (see *pl. LIII*, 1). Apparently, a bull figurine, an animal manifestation of the Ḥaḍrami "federal" god Sayīn, once stood here.

Anthropomorphic figurines were also represented in the Ḥaḍramawt temples. They were not always miniature figurines like that one from one of the temples at Biʾr Ḥamad (*fig. 7*)[28], but could be life-size or even bigger as it was seen from the pedestals located in the propylon of the temple Sayīn dhū-ʾIlīm (*pl. I*).

Since the first discoveries of the bronze sculptures in the temple of Awwām in Marib, it is thought

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[24] See Bauer 1995, p. 140; Avanzini 1996, p. 183; Yémen 1997, p. 102; Arbach 1997. In all publications the name of Sayīn engraved on the top of the sculpture was surprisingly omitted.

[25] Robin 1996, col. 1168; see also Ryckmans J. 1976, p. 274; Müller 1976; Pirenne 1990, pp. 74-75.

[26] Walker 1937; Sedov, ^{c}Aydarus 1995, pp. 19-21; Sedov 1998a, pp. 75-78.

[27] Sedov 1998a, pp. 78-85.

[28] Sedov 1995, p. 107.

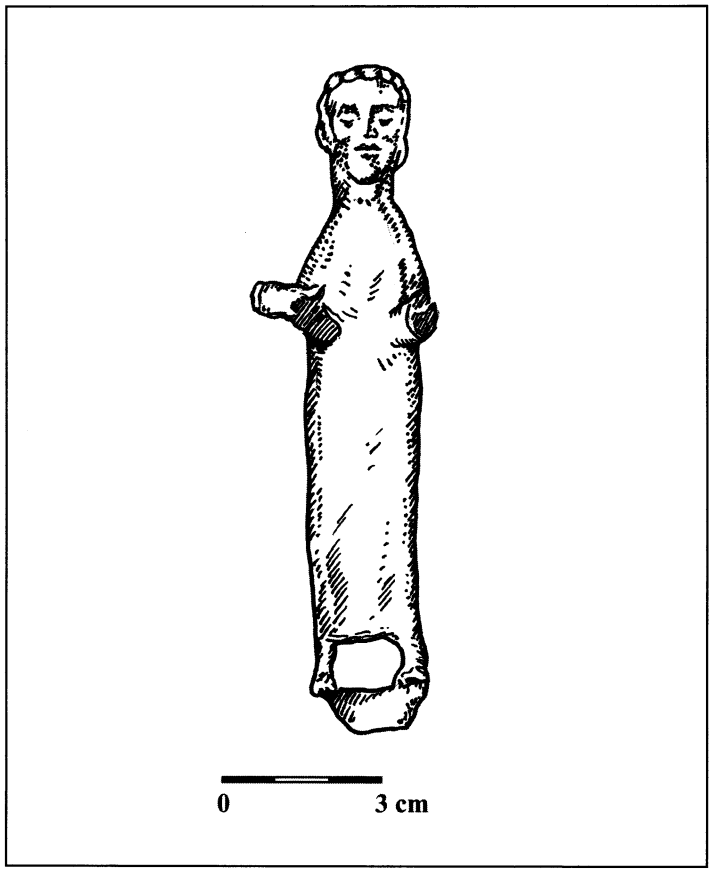

Figure 7. Biʾr Ḥamad settlement, temple of Dhāt Ḥimyam, bronze votive figurine (drawing by Ju. Kozhin).

that anthropomorphic figurines represented aristocratic donors to the temples[29]. It is quite possible that similar attribution could be proposed for the anthropomorphic statues from the Ḥaḍramawt temples. In the majority of recorded cases the pedestals remained from such statues bore already known standard formula "donor so-and-so has dedicated to deity so and so". The first part of this formula was engraved, for instance, at the base of the niche constructed in the lateral side of the staircase along the northern side of the monumental platform of the Mayfaʿān temple, where, in all probability, an anthropomorphic statue once stood: «*ʿlhmw, qayn* of Raybūn, [son of]» (Rb XIV/90, no. 253=SOYCE 2568: *ʿlhmw/qyn/Rybn[/bn][*) (see *pl. XXVII*, 2)[30].

In the complete standard formula of dedications which occurred in the Ḥaḍrami votive texts, the dedicant submitted to the will of the deity «four attributes of his (or her) own personality in the following order: soul (*nfsʾ*), will (*ʾḏn*), offspring (*wld*) and property (*qny*)». Sometimes it ended with

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[29] ALBRIGHT 1958a, pp. 269-270; JAMME 1957. The revised reading, after restoration, of the inscription engraved on one of the sculptures, that is with the name of Maʿadikarib (JAMME 1982, pp. 29-36, 42-44; BEESTON 1981, pp. 15-16), makes it absolutely clear that the imagery could not be interpreted as the representation of ʾAlmaqah (see PIRENNE 1972, pp. 202-206; GARBINI 1966). An attempt to attribute the Maʿadikarib statue as well as some other male persons in South Arabia imagery as representations of a "cultural hero" from hypothetical South Arabian myth depicted close to the image of Greek Heracles (see BERZINA 1988, pp. 96-97; 1994, pp. 207-214) can hardly be considered successful.

[30] See *Appendix III*, no. 13.

the "formula of reconciliation"[31]. It is usually thought that in the ancient period of South Arabian civilisation there were real dedications of the people who became the temple servants, but later this custom was turned into the symbolic one and the dedication of real people was replaced with dedications of statues[32]. We may assume that by using the standard formula the dedicant placed himself, his relatives and his possessions under the protection and patronage of the deity.

It seems quite likely that Sayīn, the "federal" deity of Ḥaḍramawt, had nevertheless the

Figure 8. Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Raḥbān, "early sanctuary" (Building 3), fragments of mural painting (drawing by Ju. Kozhin).

[31] Frantsouzoff 1995, pp. 22-23; 2001a, pp. 59-61.
[32] Lundin 1994, p. 192.

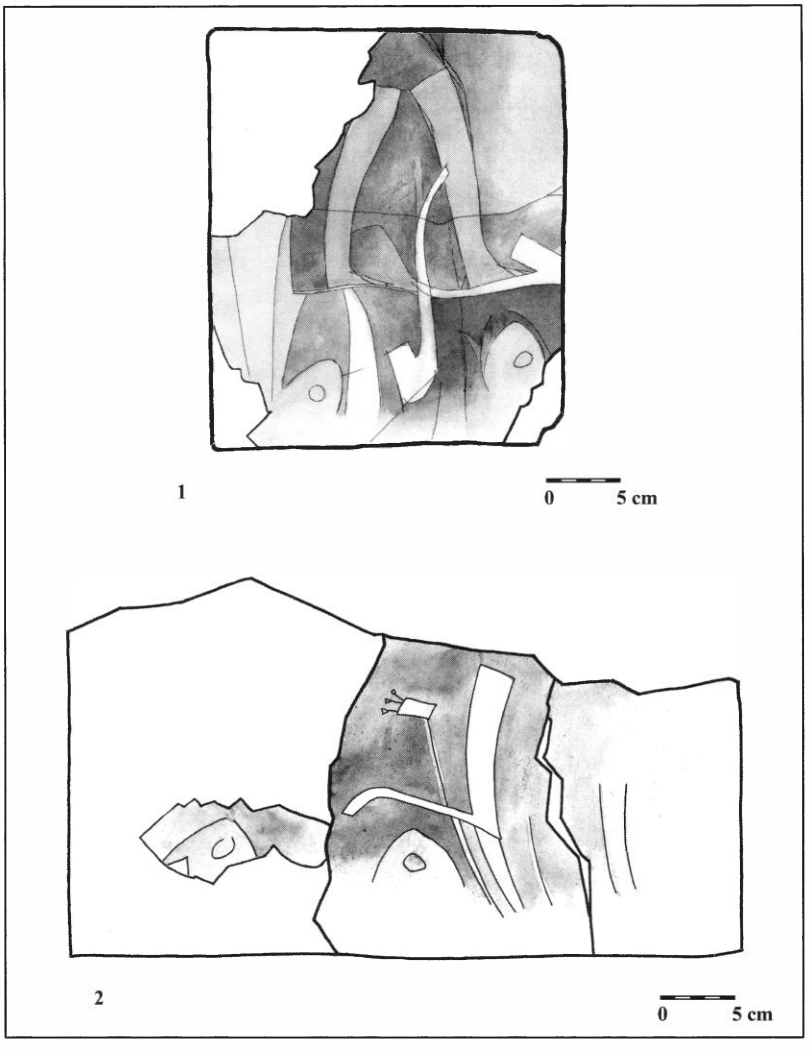

Figure 9. Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Raḥbān, "early sanctuary" (Building 3), fragments of mural painting (drawing by Ju. Kozhin).

anthropomorphic manifestation as well as, probably, some other South Arabian divinities[33]. The obverse of the Ḥaḍrami coins with eagle on the reverse, issued by Yashhurʾīl Yuharᶜish, son of Abīyaśaᶜ, *mukarrib* of Ḥaḍramawt, bore the image of the male head with hair in long ringlets (*pl. XVII*, 1). The vertical legend in front of the face could be clearly read as Sayīn (𐩦𐩲𐩣 = *Sʾyn*)[34]. The obverse of some other types of the Ḥaḍramawt coinage showed a radiated male head supplemented sometimes with a monogram in form of the South Arabian letter 𐩣 = *sʾ*, which was, probably, the initial letter of the name of the "federal" deity (*pl. XVII*, 3). In the numismatic iconography such representations

[33] See, for example, the relief YM 386, on which the female figurine is usually interpreted as the representation of the goddess Shams: CIAS, I, 1, pp. I. 35-I. 37; I. 2, pp. I. 453-I. 454; Ryckmans J. 1993, pp. 372-373.

[34] Walker 1937; Sedov, ᶜAydarus 1995, pp. 19-21. On the other hand, the above-mentioned representation could be successfully interpreted as the portrait of the ruler.

are usually interpreted as being the images of solar deities or their terrestrial manifestations such as, for instance, Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors. The image on the Ḥaḍramawt coins allowed B. Doe to make an even more extreme conclusion, namely that «... the use of the radiate head-dress may reflect the widespread cult of Mithras, whose worship spread widely from Persia during and after the second century AD»[35]. We have already stressed that this statement seems a bit speculative[36]. On the other hand, there is a sufficient number of cases in Near Eastern iconography when the radiate nimbus indicated also the lunar deities like similarly to, for instance, the representations of Malaqbel, the lunar deity of the so-called "Palmyrean triad"[37]. One must remember that, according to some scholars, Sayīn, the "federal" deity of Ḥaḍramawt, was the moon-god, although others connected him also with the sun (through one of his proposed animal manifestation, the eagle, which is usually considered as the symbol associated with the sun)[38].

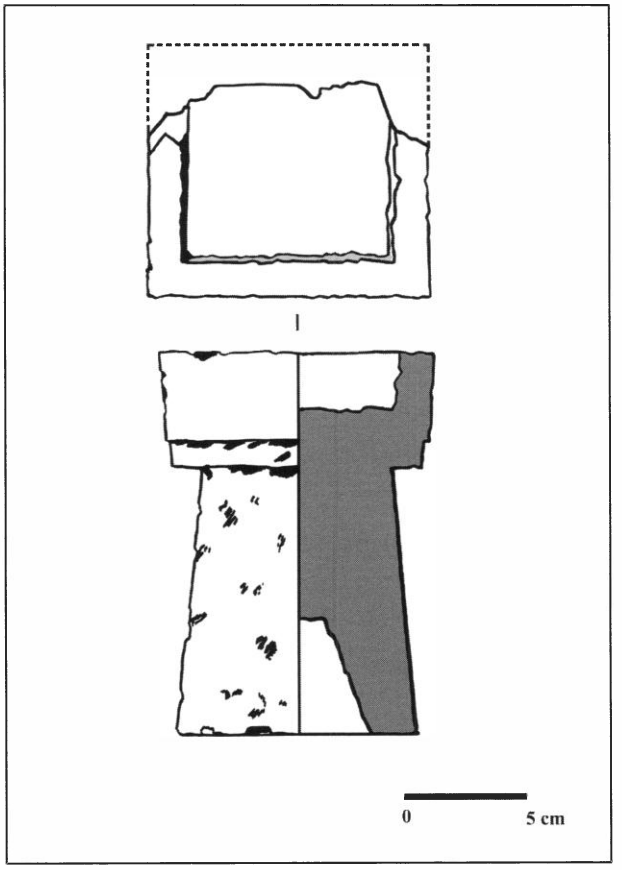

Figure 10. Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān, stone incense-burner (drawing by Ju. Kozhin).

[35] Doe 1971, p. 120.

[36] Sedov, ᶜAydarus 1995, p. 43.

[37] Cf. Collart, Vicari 1969, p. 203, pls. XV. 2, CVI. 1-2, CVII. 1-4; but cf. Schlumberger 1951, pp. 121-128, pl. XXXVI. 2; Texidor 1979, pp. 30-52, pl. VIII.

[38] Cf. Walker 1952; Jamme 1971, pp. 17-19; Ryckmans J. 1976, pp. 273-274; 1987; Beeston 1984, pp. 256-269; Lundin 1988.

Interior and exterior walls of the Ḥaḍramawt temples were decorated with mural paintings. Fragments of polychrome frescos covered the limestone slabs facing the walls of the hypostyle hall were discovered in the ruins of the Building 3 in the Raḥbān temple (*figs. 8:*1-2*; 9:*1-2). The frescos depicted people, fishes and plants accompanied, perhaps, with inscriptions[39].

The remains of polychrome painting were found on the plaster covered the platform of the central sanctuary in the temple of local deity at the site of Bi᾽r ᶜAlī. The realistic representation of a bird preserved among the fragments with geometric design was quite impressive[40]. The surfaces of the interior walls of the "early temple" at the site of Jūja were covered with the frescos representing the geometric ornamentation. It seems that the outer walls of the building were also painted.

Finds from the Raybūn temples showed that dedicatory inscriptions engraved on the slabs facing the interior and exterior walls were quite often covered with red or black paint. It does seem that the entire surface of the wall was not painted, but only a fragment, with the inscription engraved. We noted already that the stelae-*musnad* set up in the sanctuaries was often also painted.

Mural painting is not unique in buildings in South Arabia, particularly in Ḥaḍramawt. Fragments of polychrome frescos were discovered in the Shaqār palace of Shabwa, which was, however, a building of secular character[41]. Of special note is the presence of mural painting representing «a unique depiction of an ancient Sabaean male» in the temple of Awwām in Marib[42].

Certain parts of the interior of the temples like the podium in the sanctuary and the square in front of it were covered with textile (see *pl. IX*, 2), while floors of refectories had wicker mats made from palm leaves. Votive weapons like spears and daggers (*pl. XV,* 1-2) were hung on the walls of supposed ceremonial halls ("eastern hall" of the Building 1 in the temple of Kafas/ Naᶜmān). Large vessels for storing water and food, plain and artistically decorated incense-burners (*fig. 10*; see *pl. XIV*) were placed in the specially arranged places.

Architectural decoration of the religious buildings in Ḥaḍramawt was probably not very different from the decor of secular dwellings and palaces[43]. The trunks of the pillars supporting the roofs of the hypostyle halls, portico and propylon were rectangular in section. They were made from wood (see *pl. XXVI*, 2) and were usually plastered with lime mortar, perhaps painted. The bases of pillars as well as their capitals made from limestone were rather primitive in shape – in the form of a prism or truncated pyramid. The roofs of the buildings and the galleries were supplemented with triangle antefixes like one found in the ruins of Mayfaᶜān temple (see *pl. XXXVIII*, 1).

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[39] Peters 1996, p. 62.
[40] Mouton 1996.
[41] Breton 1988; Audouin 1992, pp. 167-173; Will 1992.
[42] Moorman *et al.* 2001, p. 182.
[43] Baṭayāᶜ 1988; Breton 1988.

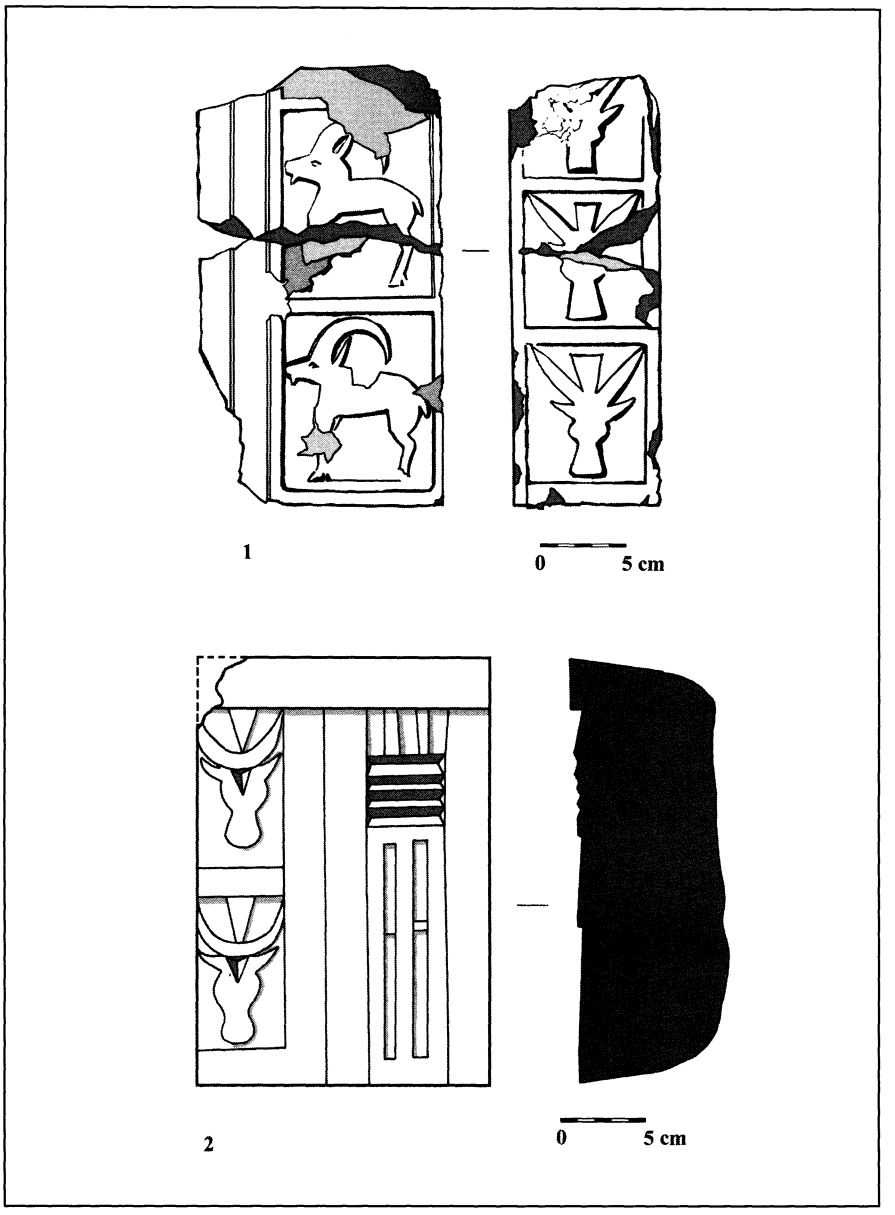

Figure 11. Architectural decoration (drawing by A. Sedov).
1,2 - temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Raḥbān

Special attention was paid to the façade of the buildings, corners and parapets of the stairways and entrances to the sanctuaries. In all such places facing slabs, blocks and cornices, simple profiled or decorated with "ribs", incised lines and triangles, and the so-called "dental ornamentation" were mounted (see *pl. XXXVIII*, 2). Sometimes the decoration was enriched with rather primitive carvings (*fig. 11*:1-2).

Monotonous surfaces of the façade and lateral sides of the platforms and socles, and the façade of the sanctuaries faced with polished lime-stone slabs were sometimes enriched with stepped niches or "false windows". In the ruins of the Kafas/Naᶜmān temple in the Raybūn oasis a massive stone

block with relief zigzag ornamentation was found (see *pl. XII*, 1). In all probability, it was a part of a monumental stone portal once decorating the entrance to the sanctuary, similar to those known in the temples of Ḥaribat Hamdān (ancient *Hrm*) and as-Sawdā' (ancient *Ns²n*) in the northern regions of Yemen (the so-called *Banāt ᶜĀd* temples)[44].

In general, the view of the Ḥaḍrami temples, especially those constructed on the slopes of the wadis, was quite magnificent (*figs. 12-15*). It should be pointed out that the characteristic given above is relevant to the sacred buildings spread all over ancient Ḥaḍramawt, throughout the territory of its political hegemony including the regions on its southern coast (Bi'r ᶜAlī settlement) and in Dhofar (Sumhurām). Unfortunately, despite the reconstruction proposed by the French scholars for its propylon, one can only guess how the "federal" temple of Sayīn dhū-'Ilīm located in Shabwa, the capital of the ancient Ḥaḍramawt kingdom, looked like.

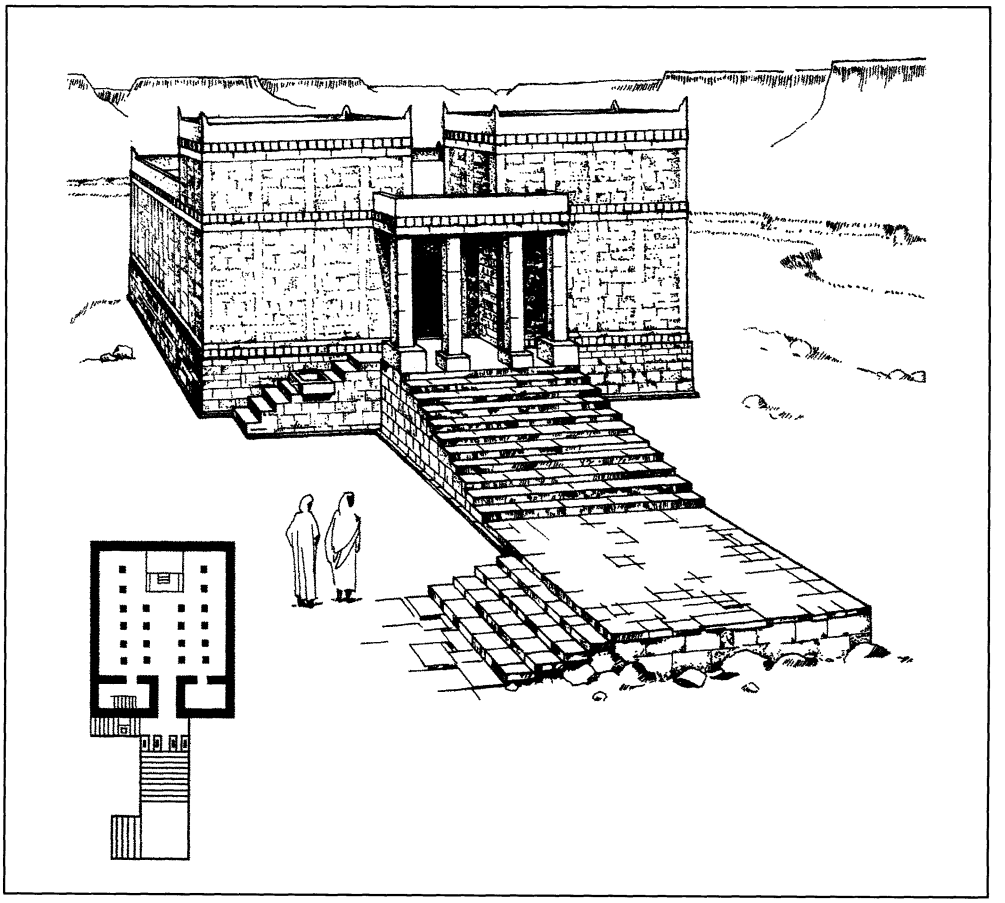

Figure 12. Temple ᶜAthtarum/ᶜAśtarum dhāt-Ḥaḍrān, variant of reconstruction (drawing by Ju. Kozhin, A. Sedov and E. Kurkina).

[44] Cf. Audouin 1996.

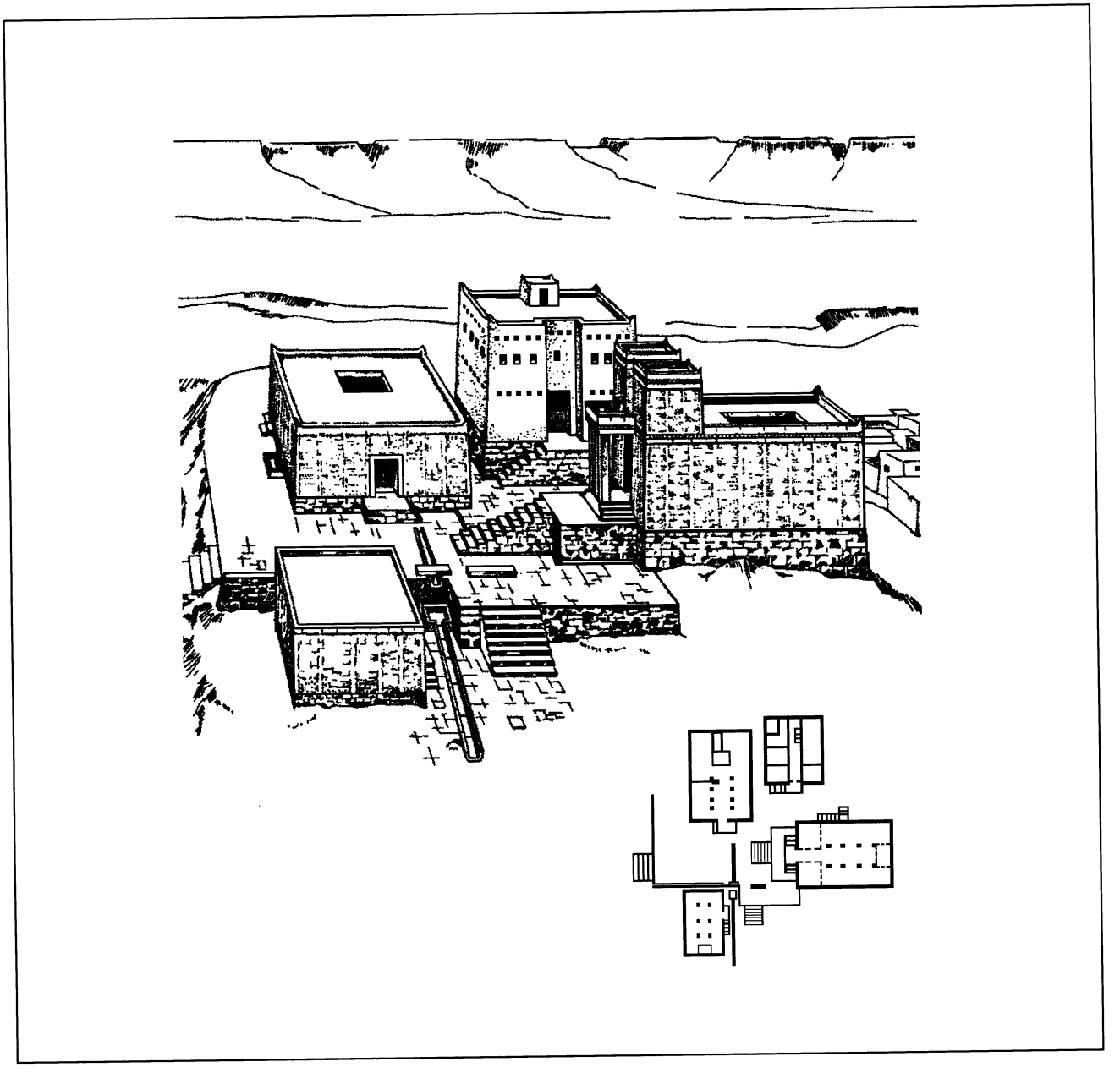

Figure 13. Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Raḥbān, variant of reconstruction (drawing by Ju. Kozhin, A. Sedov and E. Kurkina).

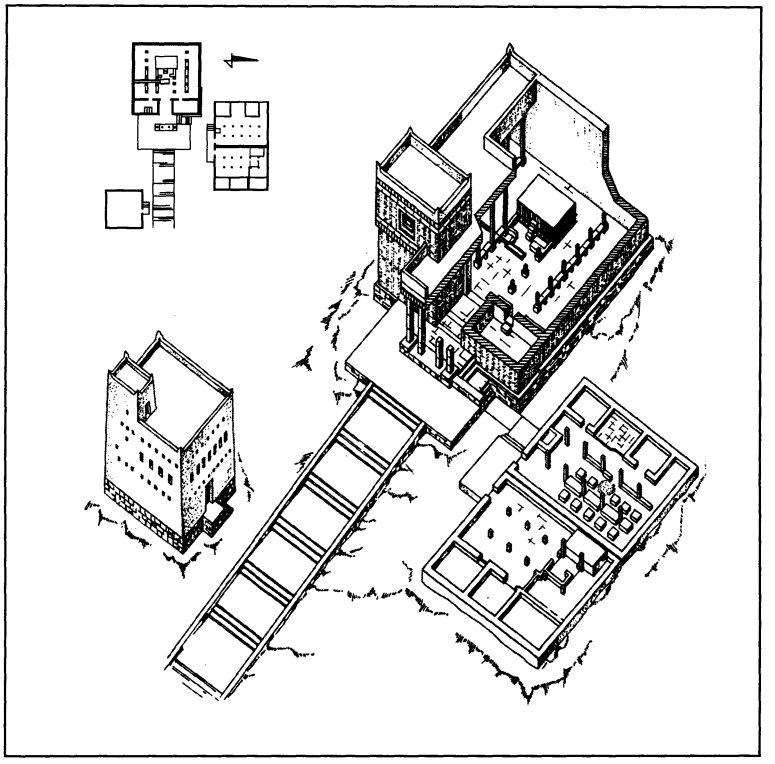

Figure 14. Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naʿmān, axonometric view with elements of reconstruction (drawing by Ju. Kozhin, A. Sedov and E. Kurkina).

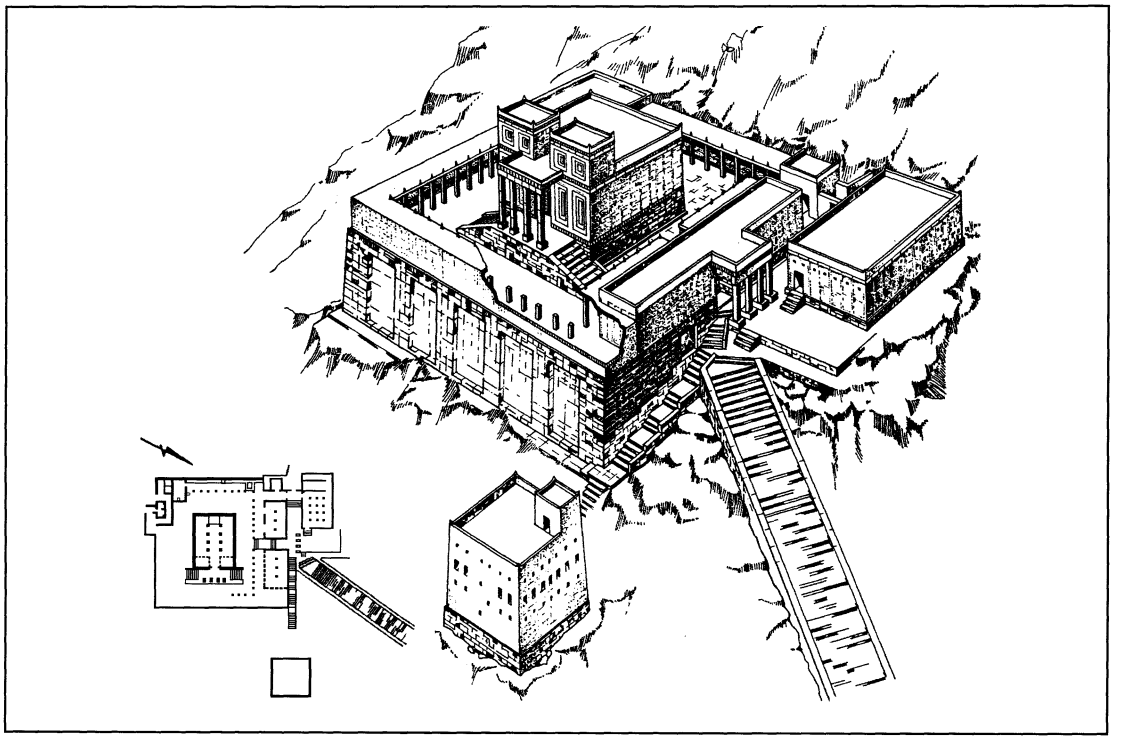

Figure 15. Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaʿān, variant of reconstruction (drawing by Ju. Kozhin, A. Sedov and E. Kurkina).

3.

RITUALS PERFORMED IN THE TEMPLES: SOME REMARKS

Judging by the numerous inscriptions, although known mostly from the territory of Ma^{c}īn, Saba$^{\circ}$, Qatabān and Ḥimyar, we are rather well informed about the rites, cults and rituals performed in the temples of ancient South Arabia[1]. It would be quite reasonable to suppose that analogues or similar ceremonies were performed in the temples of Ḥaḍramawt, which was an integral part of the "Sayhadic civilisation". Archaeological investigations could make a valid contribution to supplementing the data obtained from the epigraphical documents, if both types of sources are considered.

It seems that basic rituals connected to the worship of a deity were performed in the sanctuary, near and on the high cubic construction designated usually as podium. Well-preserved in the temple of Kafas/Na^{c}mān, it could probably serve as a good example for reconstructing such structures in the other sanctuaries. The podium was situated under the open sky, and a three-step stairway led to its upper surface. Since the inner frame of the podium was made of wood and its top surface was covered with textile, it is highly probable that there were never actions performed on it connected with fire and/or libation. We may suppose that the priest mounted on the podium for a direct appeal to the deity and, possibly, to the visitors. It is not excluded that the most convenient term for the designation of such a construction would be the Greek βῆμα ("high podium", "cathedra") marked, for instance, in the temples of ancient Palestine the high platform used for cult purposes[2].

As we know, the oracle played an extremely important role in the religious life of South Arabians[3]. Plenty of votive inscriptions found in the temples testify that dedication was made by order of the oracle. The Ḥaḍramawt was no exception and texts with similar expressions were found

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[1] It is quite hard even to list all the works, in which different South Arabian rituals analysed or mentioned. Among the most important see: Henninger 1942-1945; Ryckmans G. 1960, pp. 209-228; Höfner 1970; Beeston 1948; 1949; 1984; 1991a; Robin 1991; Ryckmans J. 1972; 1973; 1973a; 1973b; 1976; 1983; 1987; Loundine 1990; Müller 1976a; 1987; 1988; Ghul 1984. For our review the most valuable are the general works published recently: Ryckmans J. 1993, 1993a; Lundin 1994; Robin 1996, col. 1156-1189.

[2] Reich, Katzenstein 1992, p. 312.

[3] Beeston 1949; Ryckmans J. 1968; 1993a, pp. 126-127; Lundin 1994, pp. 197-199.

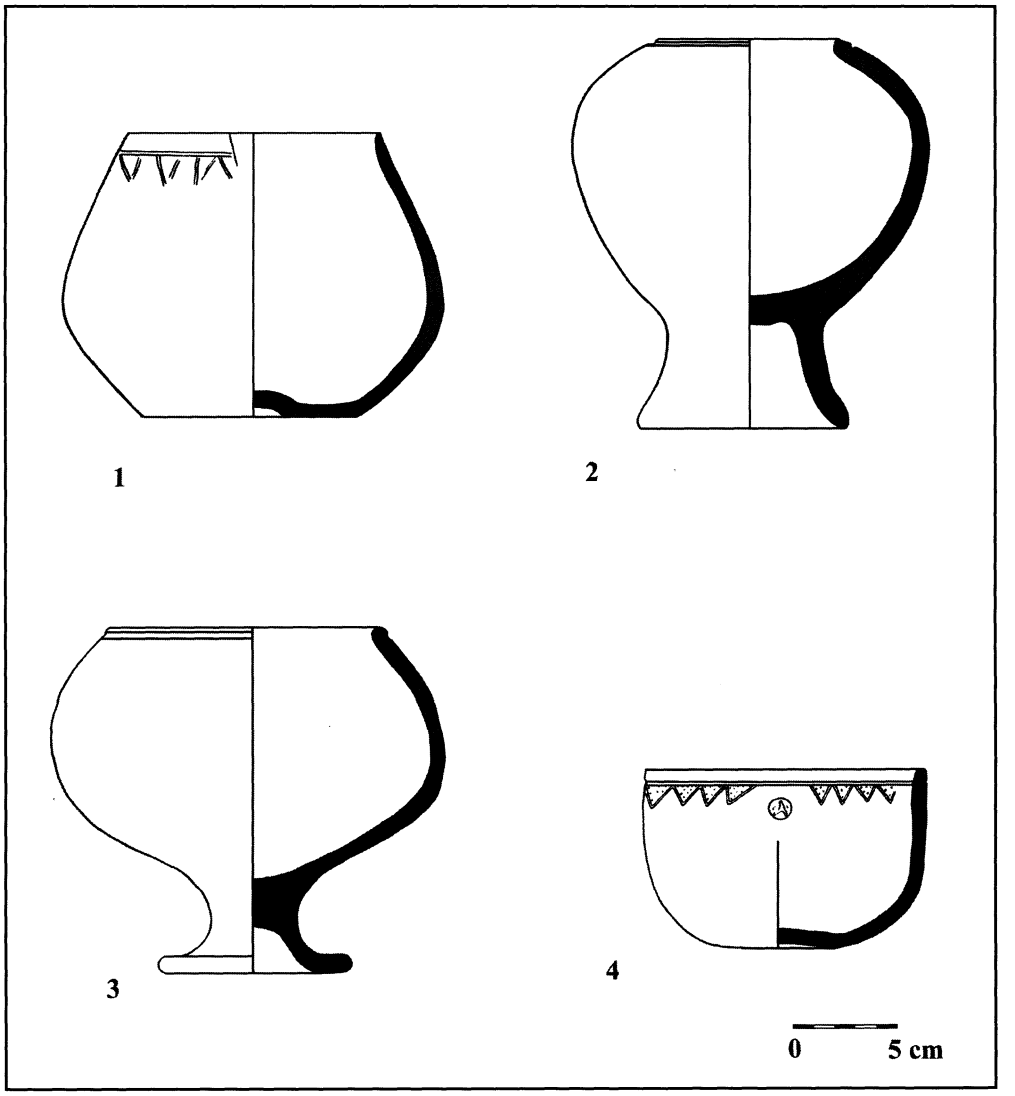

Figure 16. Ceramic vessels used in the ritual (drawing by Ju. Kozhin and Ju. Vinogradov). 1,2 - temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Raḥbān, "early sanctuary" (Building 3); 3,4 - temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naʿmān, sanctuary (Building 2).

in the ruins of Raybūn temples (Rb I/84, no. 196: *sˡwḍˀsˢ*)[4]. The oracle could be heard directly from the deity or received in a dream[5]. There were also other ways to receive the oracle in the temple through the mediation of the priests and/or special servants. It would be quite reasonable to assume that βῆμα in the Raybūn sanctuaries was a place (or one of the places), where the priest received the oracle from the deity and passed it on to those involved.

[4] Frantsouzoff 1995, p. 19.

[5] Cf. the testimony of the Arabian historian Ibn Isḥāq on the voice coming from one of the Ḥimyarite temples in Riyām (Piotrovskij 1977, pp. 78, 82).

In Raybūn sanctuaries investigated so far, a rectangular offering table with a long gutter intended for sacrificial libations was mounted into the pavement in front of the podium (see *pls. X*, 1; *XXXI*). It is fairly certain that these tables were designated in the inscriptions as *mṣrb* and/or *msʿlm*[6]. A pair of complete ceramic vessels of special form and ornamentation (*fig. 16*:1-4) were found near the offering tables in the sanctuaries of Kafas/Naᶜmān and Raḥbān (Building 3) temples. We may assume that they were used for making sacrificial libations. A special sort of incense dissolved in water such as, for instance, myrrh (*Commiphora myrrha*)[7] was used for libations, although oil, wine and milk were also used[8]. Large stone mortars were found near the sanctuaries of the Raḥbān and Kafas/Naᶜmān temples in the Raybūn oasis (see *pl. VI*, 1-2), in the *intra muros* temple at Sumhurām. Is it possible that they were used for crushing the incense intended for libations, in order that they dissolve in the liquid (water)?

Judging by the inscriptions, the sacrifices in the temples were made also by the "hard" products: fruits, dates and cereals. In the opinion of J. Ryckmans, the altars in the form of sacrificial tables with inner partitions and without a gutter were used for such ceremonies[9]. A good example of such an altar, in his opinion, is the one found in the temple Sayīn dhū-Madhābum in the Wādī ᶜAmd[10]. A fragment of a ceramic tray (?) or table (?) divided by inner partitions into several sections was found in 1984 in the ruins of the temple at the settlement of al-Qūff in the Wādī al-ᶜAyn[11]. Probably, this object can be also interpreted as a part of the altar intended for the sacrifices of the "hard" agricultural products.

An incense-burner on a high profiled base in the form of truncated pyramid was placed near the podium and offering table for libations in the sanctuary of the Kafas/Naᶜmān temple (see *pl. XIII*, 1-3). It seems that similar incense-burners were placed in the centre of sanctuaries of *intra muros* and *extra muros* temples at Sumhurām. Different kind of transportable stone incense-burners with rectangular, square or oval reservoirs on four legs, on truncated pyramid or cone bases are one of the most common finds in Ḥaḍramawt temples. They were found not only in the sanctuaries but in other structures of the temple complexes as well. In all probability, the burning of incense accompanied almost every religious ceremony in the temples (almost all transportable incense-burners from the *intra muros* temple at Sumhurām contained the remains of burnt incense). It seems that inscriptions provided us with some terms used for designating different types of incense-burners. Thus, the term *mqṭr* was, in all probability, used for one of the most common types of incense-burners – with a square reservoir on the base in form of a truncated pyramid[12]. An excellent exemplar of *mqṭr* was found in the ruins of the eastern hall in the Building 1 of the temple Kafas/Naᶜmān (*pl. XIV*)[13].

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[6] Ryckmans G. 1968, pp. 256-259; Ryckmans J. 1989, p. 78; Maraqten 1994, pp. 163-167.

[7] Cf. the inscription on the fragment of the offering table intended for the sacrificial libations (RES 3459bis: *msʿlm/mrtn*), which G. Ryckmans translated «autel pour la myrrhe» (Ryckmans G. 1968, p. 258).

[8] Lundin 1994, p. 194.

[9] Ryckmans J. 1993, p. 372.

[10] Caton Thompson 1944, pl. XVIII.

[11] Soyce collection in the Sayʾūn Museum, Ḥaḍramawt Governorate; the field no. Soyce-84/Guff-8.

[12] Ryckmans G. 1968, pp. 255-257; Ryckmans J. 1993, pp. 370-371; Maraqten 1994, pp. 165-166.

[13] Grjaznewitsch 1989, fig. 2; Yémen 1997, p. 149.

There were, probably, incense-burners in the form of a stone candelabrum, in which something like aromatic candles could be burnt. A fragment of such object was found in the ruins of the temple of Dhāt Ḥimyam at the Biʾr Ḥamad settlement[14].

A stationary altar to burn incense was discovered in the roofed gallery around the sanctuary of the temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān (see *pl. XXIV*, 1-2). Fragments of a very smoked ceramic vessel, in which, most probably, the incense had been burnt, were found inside the altar. The aromatic smoke spread all over the gallery through several holes constructed in the exterior walls of the altar. Small pieces of frankincense (*Boswellia sacra*) occasionally trampled into the floor were found in one of the rooms near the corner of the gallery. Evidently this incense was burnt in the Mayfaᶜān temple.

Remains of different donations were found near the podiums and offering tables in the Raybūn temples of Raḥbān, Ḥaḍrān and Kafas/Naᶜmān. In the majority of cases these are personal jewellery and amulets that belonged, probably, to female donors (*pl. XVI*, 1-4). Such a selective approach in donations was connected, probably, to the sex of the deities: all three temples were dedicated to the goddesses Dhāt Ḥimyam and ᶜAthtarūm/ᶜAśtarūm.

South Arabian inscriptions mentioned the blood sacrifices of animals, which could reach dozens, in honour of the god and/or on certain occasions. A special type of altar called *mḏbḥ/mḏbḥt* was used for such ceremonies[15], although it is widely known that animals could be sacrificed in many different places, for instance on the off-road or boundary stones. Without doubt such sacrifices also took place in the temples, but, in all probability, not inside the sanctuaries but in the courtyards and/or in special places like small chapels called *ḥḍr*[16]. The altars for animals blood sacrifices were discovered in the temple Sayīn dhū-Madhābum outside the sanctuary, in the centre of constructions designated by G. Caton Thompson as «shrines» or «votive groups» (see *fig. 49*). Sheep and goat bones were found inside the constructions in connection with the altars[17].

Unfortunately, nothing similar to these altars has been found in the temples of Raybūn oasis. However, in the temples of Kafas/Naᶜmān and Mayfaᶜān, rooms with special layouts were discovered near the refectories. They had wide entrances and raised paved floors. In the centre of one of the rooms (room 5 in the temple of Mayfaᶜān) two shallow pits intended, probably, for collecting the liquid (blood?) were discovered. It's very tempting to identify these rooms as *ḥḍr* mentioned above.

A fragment of the altar of the other type, designated as *mfḥm*, was discovered in the ruins of temple Ḥalsum at Bā Qūṭfa. It was a prismatic stone block with a kind of protuberance-sting on one of its short sides. In all probability, it was only a base of more complex construction, and the shape of what the upper part was is not clear[18].

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[14] Sedov 1995, fig. 7.

[15] Most probably, these were altars in form of a large stone parallelepiped, or, rarely, cylinder sometimes decorated (cf. Breton, Arramond, Robine 1990, p. 3). It is considered that later the term *mḏbḥ/mḏbḥt* started to designate any altar (cf. Ryckmans J. 1993, p. 367; Lundin 1994, p. 194).

[16] Cf. Ryckmans J. 1983, p. 19; Lundin 1994, p. 193; Maraqten 1994, p. 169.

[17] Caton Thompson 1944, pp. 44-54.

[18] Pirenne 1979, p. 217, pl. VIIa; Maraqten 1994, p. 168.

Visitors to the temples and participants in the ritual ceremonies were assembled, perhaps, under the roof of the hypostyle hall by both sides of the podium- βῆμα. In the temple of Mayfaᶜān the roofed gallery with long stone benches constructed around the sanctuary on the top of the monumental platform was probably used in a similar way, *i.e.* for gathering members of the community. It should be pointed out that almost everywhere on the perfectly preserved bench in the western wing of the gallery there are cavities worn away where visitors placed themselves. In this connection it would be interesting to come back to the interpretation of the name of *Qṯm* regularly engraved in equal intervals on the lateral side of the bench and on the lower line of the facing slabs of the wall immediately behind the bench (see above). In some places, this row of repeated names was interspersed by another name, which, judging by the remaining lower parts of the letters, was definitely different from that of *Qṯm*. Did these inscriptions serve as a kind of marks for places reserved for the most prominent visitors of the temple belonging to a particular clan (or family)? Could these places be bought, evidently, in a form of donations to the temple?

It is not clear whether the ritual of walking around the sanctuary or/and its altars mentioned in the inscriptions as *qyf* existed or not[19]. We can only state that in the sanctuaries of the Ḥaḍramawt temples there was enough space for this to take place, and in the temple of Mayfaᶜān the walk around the sanctuary along the roofed gallery was almost surely practiced. In the "early temple" at Jūja such ritual could be performed along the corridors denoted as Loci 47 and 39.

As is known from the inscriptions, the performance of purification and ablution was demanded before entering the temple[20]. Big stone water-reservoirs were found in the temples of Ḥaḍrān and Raḥbān (see *pl. V*, 2), in the *intra muros* and *extra muros* temples at Sumhurām, and the place for supposed ablutions was identified near the refectory of the Raḥbān temple. Carefully plastered baths, probably also intended for ablutions, were preserved in one of the rooms on the top of the monumental platform of the Mayfaᶜān temple (room 3). Big ceramic storage vessels found in numbers in all temples could be also used for keeping water. One should note the presence of the wells in the temples or close to them (see *pl. XX*, 1).

Some ritual actions were performed in the Ḥaḍramawt temples outside their sanctuaries: a gigantic stone stele was mounted on the small hill to the north-west of the Kafas/Naᶜmān temple, and G. Caton Thompson excavated a number of «votive groups» and «shrines» including offering tables for libations outside the sanctuary of Sayīn dhū-Madhābum[21].

Separate buildings and rooms in the large temple-complexes, in which there are all grounds to see the refectories for ritual meals or feasts, were described above. Such ceremonies were among the most important rituals in ancient South Arabia[22]. It is thought that one of the biggest cult places in the Northern Yemen, Jabal al-Lawdh, was specially intended for ritual meals (or

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[19] Lundin 1994, pp. 196-197.

[20] Lundin 1994, pp. 190-191.

[21] Caton Thompson 1944, pp. 44-56.

[22] See, for instance, the ritual meal consecrated to ᶜAthtar (Ryckmans J. 1973; 1973b; 1993, pp. 376-378; 1993a, pp. 135-136; Lundin 1994, p. 195).

more general feasts) connected with the "federal" Sabaean events[23]. Of no less importance was, probably, this ceremony in Ḥaḍramawt: the epithet of the "federal" Ḥaḍramawt deity Sayīn worshipped in Shabwa was dhū-ʾIlīm *(Sʿyn d-ʾlm)*, which, according to J. Ryckmans, could be interpreted as "Sayīn of (the) banquets"[24]. It is doubtful whether the refectories in the temples of Kafas/Naᶜmān, Mayfaᶜān or Raḥbān could be considered as places for "federal" Ḥaḍramawt ceremonies. However, there is no doubt that the rituals on the local scale were performed in them. Till now all ritual actions in Ḥaḍramawt and Mahra rooted in pre-Islamic period like, for instance, *istisqāʾ*, the ceremony of rogation for the rain, is accompanied by collective meals[25].

Ancient South Arabian inscriptions and narrative texts mentioned the custom of pilgrimage to the "sacred places". It seems that Pliny the Elder recorded the pilgrimage, probably in the context of ritual meals, to the sanctuary of the "federal" Ḥaḍramawt deity of Sayīn in Shabwa[26]. The pilgrimage to the sanctuary of the monotheistic deity Raḥmānān is mentioned in one of the inscriptions from Shabwa (Hamilton 11: *...mṛtdm[/]bn/sʿlmt[/]ḫg*)[27]. It is quite possible that the pilgrimage was also made to Raybūn temples, although archaeologically we cannot trace it[28].

Neither is there any archaeological evidence regarding the connection of the cults and rituals performed in the Ḥaḍramawt temples and the widely known ritual hunt which played an important role in Ḥaḍramawt as well as in the other South Arabian kingdoms even at the state level[29].

Rather often the ritual hunt was organised in honour of the particular deity[30]. However, most probably it was not directly connected with temple rites, although one could suppose that wild animals, at least those caught alive, as well as domestic ones were the subject of donations to the temples.

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[23] Robin, Breton 1982; Jung 1988, pp. 181-185; Loundine 1990.

[24] Ryckmans J. 1973, p. 332; 1973b, p. 37. On the possibility of interpretation of the epithet as a place-name see Beeston 1991, p. 4.

[25] In 1989 the author witnessed the *istisqāʾ* ceremony in the north-eastern region of the Mahra Governorate, not far from the village of Fugit. The Bedouins dwelling in the neighbouring to Fugit wadis gathered to perform the ceremony. All local authorities, *e.g.* party and administrative leaders and local mullah, attended the ceremony (in 1989 the People Democratic Republic of Yemen was still in existence ruled by the Yemeni Socialist Party). At the beginning of the ceremony two goats specially prepared for such occasion were slaughtered, cooked and served, as usual, with boiled rice and tea. After the common meal, the Muslim prayer was performed, and after it – a solemn march along the course of the wadi bed at a distance of 350-400 m accompanied with regular singing took place. The march ended with throwing and removing the stones from the wadi's bed against a big rock at one of its banks. Finally a small mound was formed near the rock. As was stated later by one of our informants there has been a heavy rainfall in about a week after the ceremony (Field dairy, 24.02.1989).

[26] Plyny *Nat. Hist.*, XII, XXXII, 63: «...inde inpensae publicae tolerantur, nam et benigne certo dierum numero deus hospites pascit»

[27] Brown, Beeston 1954, pp. 61-62; Pirenne 1990, p. 86.

[28] On the survival of the pre-Islamic custom of pilgrimage in Ḥaḍramawt see the excellent work of R. Serjeant (Serjeant 1954). On the importance of the regular pilgrimage to the temples in ancient South Arabia see also Korotaev 2003.

[29] See, for instance, inscriptions RES 4912, Ingrams 1 and texts of al-ᶜUqla; on the ritual hunt in South Arabia see Beeston 1948; 1991a; Jamme 1956; Ryckmans J. 1976; 1993, pp. 373-376; 1993a, pp. 137-142; Pirenne 1990, pp. 91-93; on the modern practice of the ritual hunt in Ḥaḍramawt see Serjeant 1976.

[30] Beeston 1948; Ryckmans J. 1976, pp. 261-263.

In this respect attention should be turned to the images of leopards, gazelles and ibexes on the votive stelae from Mayfa^{c}ān and other Ḥaḍrami temples. Such representations on the stelae and decorative door panels in the ancient Yemeni houses are considered by J. Ryckmans as evidence of the practice of the ritual hunt and, probably, of ritual dances connected with it[31]. He supports this argument by pointing out, among others, the representations on the capitals from Ḥuṣn al-^{c}Urr, the ancient fortress in the eastern Wādī Ḥaḍramawt[32]. It seems that the magic dances performed in the temples are recorded in the epigraphic material: the inscription Nami NAG 12=Iryani 11 describes the military magic dance as a ceremony *ḥrb*[33]. If such ceremonies existed in the temples of the Raybūn oasis, they could well take place in the courtyards in front of the sanctuaries (Raḥbān temple) or on the top of the monumental platform between the sanctuary and the roofed gallery (Mayfa^{c}ān temple).

Attention should be focused on one more important detail: almost all Ḥaḍramawt temples constructed on the slopes of the wadis are situated in the centre or in close vicinity to the ancient necropolises. However, it seems there is neither archaeological nor epigraphical evidence for the establishment of any connections between temples and funeral rites of the ancient Ḥaḍramies. It should be pointed out that in Ḥayd ibn ^{c}Aqīl, the necropolis of the Qatabānian capital Timna^{c}, a large temple has been also discovered[34], and near the famous Sabaean temple of Awwām in Marib the vast necropolis was located[35].

[31] Ryckmans J. 1976, pp. 280-300.
[32] Ryckmans J. 1993a, pp. 140-142.
[33] Cf. Lundin 1994; but cf. Ryckmans J. 1968.
[34] Cleveland 1965, pp. 173-175.
[35] Albright 1952, pp. 34-36; Hitgen 1998.

CONCLUSION

Practically all the temples investigated so far in Ḥaḍramawt were constructed between the end of the first – beginning of the second third of the 1st millennium BC and were in function until the early centuries of the 1st millennium AD. We know almost nothing about the most ancient religious buildings of Ḥaḍramawt relating to the initial period of the history of its "classical" civilisation, *i.e.* late 2nd - early 1st millennia BC. The painted pottery in the ruins of the Mayfaᶜān temple in the Raybūn oasis lends support to its presumed existence (or, at least, the existence of some hypothetical "early" religious structure) somewhere around that period. The somewhat archaic epigraphical style of the letters on the Mayfaᶜān stele with the text about the supposed foundation of the temple (SOYCE 1129=Rb XIV/87, no. 1a) showed that, probably, during the time of Karibʾīl Watar, son of Dhamarᶜalī, *mukarrib* of Sabaʾ (*i.e.* by the end of the 7th century BC, or soon after), the Mayfaᶜān temple was already constructed[1].

In all probability, Building 3 of the temple complex of Raḥbān (supposed "early" sanctuary of Dhāt Ṣahran goddess) was constructed quite early in the city's existence. The foundation and the upper surface of its socle are situated considerably lower than the corresponding levels of the neighbouring Buildings 2 and 4 which, in my opinion, could be the result of its having been built somewhat earlier. However, it is not possible to state that the entire mud-brick sanctuary unearthed above the socle of Building 3 must be dated as early as its foundation. Judging by the available radiocarbon dates, the construction or, at least, the last sizeable repairs work to this building, was accomplished somewhere in the 4th century BC (see *Appendix II, table 2*). Around this date the "wall of Dasmān" was erected and faced with the polished slabs, the podium was constructed and the pavement of the hypostyle hall of the sanctuary was renewed, although one cannot exclude that the initial layout of the sanctuary itself remained untouched.

The "early" structure discovered under the stone socle of the Ḥaḍrān temple, judging by the pottery material corresponding to the period of its function, could hardly be dated earlier than the

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[1] Personal communication by the late A.G. Lundin.

5th century BC[2]. Initially it was a building with a rather primitive layout, the core of which was a trapezoidal room wide open to the south. The bench constructed against one of the long walls of the room and the structure similar to the cubic podium discovered in one of the adjacent rooms testifies to its ritual character.

So far the earliest probable date, which can be proposed for the foundation of the "early temple" excavated at Jūja settlement near Shibām in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, is somewhere close to the late 8th– early 7th centuries BC. The very well developed architectural layout of the sanctuary should be pointed out.

The absolute majority of the recorded temples in Ḥaḍramawt belonged to the buildings with the sanctuary composed of a single room in which the roof was supported by rows of pillars delineating the naves within the room. Such a type of South Arabian religious structures was called as "the Hypostyle Temples"[3]. A. de Maigret considered this type as «the result of a genuine creativity based entirely on local inspiration and thoughts»[4]. Moreover, in spite of the presence of hypostyle temples in al-Jawf he proposed, «the Ḥaḍramawt region as the birthplace of this original and important architectural form»[5]. Unfortunately, our material cannot prove this promising statement[6]. On the other hand, it should be pointed out that the most ancient religious buildings known so far in Ḥaḍramawt such as the "early temple" at Jūja and the "early sanctuary" (Building 3) of the temple complex of Raḥbān, *i.e.* supposed sanctuary of Dhāt Ṣahran goddess, revealed one of the main characteristic features of al-Jawf hypostyle temples – a row of adjoining rooms (a tripartite cella?) along the wall opposite the entrance[7]. It is possible to come to the conclusion that such layout was typical for Ḥaḍramawt temples during the early period of its history, and an isolated podium in the centre was added to the sanctuaries later?

Another type of South Arabian religious building was "the Court Temples". Their main characteristics were tripartite cella along the wall opposite the entrance and a wide-open courtyard supplemented sometimes with roofed gallery and a multicolumn portico or propylon[8]. These temples were spread throughout the Sabaean and Minean areas, but were not known in Ḥaḍramawt

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[2] Koshelenko, Kropotkin 1996, pl. XLII, 4-15; Sedov 2001, pp. 23-24.

[3] Schmidt 1982; Jung 1988, pp. 196-197; de Maigret 2002, pp. 292-303.

[4] de Maigret 2002, p. 298.

[5] de Maigret 2002, p. 303.

[6] On the Ḥaḍrami hypostile temples as «an *ex nihilo* creation» not before the 5th century BC see Breton 1980, p. 8.

[7] Cf., for instance, the layout of the Nakraḥ temple in Barāqish (De Maigret 1996, pp. 209-303, fig. 66).

[8] Schmidt 1982; Jung 1988, pp. 186-192; de Maigret 2002, pp. 288-292. The typological characteristic of this type of South Arabian religious buildings should be defined more precisely: sometimes it is not clear what is described - the layout of the sanctuary or the architectural scheme of the entire temple complex. In the last case the above mentioned type must include the famous Sabaean temples of Awwām and Barʾān, temple of ʾAlmaqah in Ṣirwāḥ, temple in al-Ḥuqqa. All these buildings had inner courtyards although not necessary of regular geometric form. The sanctuary of the Barʾān temple was erected on a high stone platform or socle attached to one of the sides of the courtyards. Its layout was reconstructed as a central cella surrounded by a pillar gallery, in other words the sanctuary itself had a courtyard, the second one in the temple proper. It is not clear could be the so-called "Ovoid Percinct" of the Awwām temple denoted as the inner courtyard, while the "Peristil Hall" – as the sanctuary (cf. Glanzman 2002, p. 189).

or Qatabān[9]. It should be noted that the temple's entrance designed as a multicolumn portico or propylon is one of the most characteristic features of "the Hypostyle Temple" as well.

Most probably, three religious structures recorded in Ḥaḍramawt might be identified as "the Court Temples" – the so-called Dhāt Ṣahran temple (Buildings 72-73-74) and *intra muros* sanctuary (Building 44) in Shabwa, and one of the temples in the Raybūn oasis denoted as Raybūn VI. The identification of at least one the structures in Shabwa (Buildings 72-73-74) as the temple of "foreign", Qatabanian, deity Dhāt Ẓahrān might help to understand why the building was constructed following non-Ḥaḍrami tradition of the religious architecture. Probably, the same is true for another building in Shabwa, the *intra muros* sanctuary (Building 44), although the complete lack of epigraphic material doesn't permit to determine the name of a deity worshipped in it.

The situation with the temple in the Raybūn oasis is more complex. Fragments of votive inscriptions found in the ruins revealed very clear evidence that the temple was sacred to Sayīn, the "federal" deity of Ḥaḍramawt. Thus, one can expect that the religious building should be similar to the well-known and widespread in Ḥaḍramawt type, to "the Hypostyle Temples". But as we can judge from the ground plan it is not the case. On contrary, we have the temple with the inner courtyard. The possible explanation could be found in the epigraphic material: one of the votive inscriptions from Raybūn VI contains the dedication to Sayīn made "in the name of ʾAlmaqah" (Rb VI/84, no. 5 = SOYCE 834; reading of the late G.M. Bauer, see above). Probably, the dedication was made by a Sabaean during his stay in Ḥaḍramawt. But there is also a possibility that initially the structure was built as a Sabaean temple in Ḥaḍramawt sacred to the "federal" Sabaean deity, and only later was converted to the temple of the Ḥaḍrami "federal" god.

Further comparisons of the general layout and details of the interior arrangement between temples of ancient Ḥaḍramawt and those of Sabaʾ and Maʿīn, along with undoubted differences, indicates other similarities: high stone socles and monumental stairways; entrances to the sanctuaries designed as a multicolumn portico or propylon; roofed galleries with benches constructed along the walls; altars and podiums, offering tables, incense-burners and dedicative stelae and sculptures in the interior of the sanctuaries; wells in the temples' courtyards[10].

There are at least two explanations for these. In the late 7th - early 6th century BC a rather strong Sabaean influence became marked in the material and spiritual culture of ancient Ḥaḍramawt. It is seen in the repertoire of ceramic forms and pottery making traditions, in the building techniques and architectural decoration of houses, in the epigraphic style of inscriptions and even in the sacred formulae used for dedications. It seems beyond dispute that this spread of the Sabaean cultural koine was connected to the events of the time of Karibʾīl Watar, son of Dhamarʿalī and his successors, and with the proposed Sabaean colonisation of the western part of Ḥaḍramawt[11]. However it is more

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[9] Contrary to de Maigret's opinion (DE MAIGRET 2002, p. 292), I see no grounds to interpret the palaces in Shabwa and Timnaʿ, whose layout is rather similar to Barʾān and al-Ḥuqqa temples, as religious buildings. Their identification as Shaqār and Ḥarīb royal palaces looks quite convincing.

[10] SCHMIDT 1982a; 1987; 1997/98; JUNG 1988; DE MAIGRET 1991; DE MAIGRET, ROBIN 1993; BRETON, ARRAMOUND, ROBINE 1990; BRETON 1992a; VOGT, GLANZMAN 1997.

[11] Cf. PIRENNE 1990, pp. 35-42; SEDOV 1996b, pp. 84-86.

promising, in my opinion, to seek the explanation elsewhere. It looks that there was a common ancient Semitic background for the religious architecture in the entire South Arabia including Ḥaḍramawt, the common source, from which it appeared and developed.

At our present state of knowledge, no archaeological cultures have been discovered in Southern Arabia which could be considered as immediate predecessors of what we know as "classical" or "Ṣayhadic civilisation"[12]. This bears relevance to Ḥaḍramawt as well, where more and more data indicating the "foreign" character of its agricultural civilisation of the late 2nd - 1st millennia BC and its connections with the northern regions of the Arabian Peninsula appeared[13]. In this respect one must look at the layout of one of the types of the Palestinian temples of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, *i.e.* of the first three-quarters of the 2nd millennium BC. There is a special type of religious building called "Monumental Symmetrical Temples" or "the Syrian Temples". Another name for these buildings is "Tower *(mighdal)* Temples"[14].

The most characteristic examples of such temples were discovered at Shehem, Megiddo (temple 2048) and Hazor (temple in the trench H, stratum 3). These are the buildings with wide monumental walls, constructed usually on the stone podiums or socles. Two towers flanked the entrances to the temples designed as one- or two-column portico. Pillars supported the roof of the cella: two pillars in the Hazor temple and six pillars arranged in two rows in the temple of Shehem. The "Holy of Holies" in form of a niche or a low platform or a podium was constructed either in or against the wall opposite the entrance. It is considered that the appearance of this type of temples in the Canaanian cities was connected with the penetration of the new ethnic element, the Hurrits and Indo-Europeans, who brought with them new traditions of the temple architecture[15].

As we can judge from the brief description above, the layout of the Palestinian "Tower (*mighdal*) Temples" is quite similar to the layout of the Ḥaḍrami hypostyle sanctuaries, especially those from the ancient Raybūn oasis. The wide chronological gap between the monuments in Palestine and in Ḥaḍramawt seems doesn't allow, at least before the discovery of the real "early" temples in Ḥaḍramawt, to speak either about borrowing the idea or about the direct cultural influence. However, such analogy fits well with general picture of the connections between Palestine and the region of South Arabia traced for the early phases of the "classical" civilisation of Ḥaḍramawt.

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[12] Cf. DE MAIGRET 1990, pp. 213-218 about the chronological gap between the Bronze Age and ancient Sabaean monuments in Khawlān. The peripheral culture of Sabir on the western and southern coasts of Yemen partly overlapped with the monuments of the South Arabian "classical" civilisation (VOGT 1998a; VOGT, SEDOV 1998; 1998a) could hardly be considered as such predecessor.

[13] Cf. SEDOV 1996b; see also NEBES 2001.

[14] MAZAR 1992, pp. 164-173. Recently B.A. Litvinskij, based on the Central Asian material, published an exhausting study of this type of temples (LITVINSKIJ 1996).

[15] WRIGHT 1971; 1985, pp. 43ff; MAZAR 1992, pp. 167-169; GONEN 1992, pp. 222-229.

APPENDIX I

SACRAL BUILDINGS OF ANCIENT ḤAḌRAMAWT: THE CATALOGUE

The description of all excavated and recorded sacral buildings of ancient Ḥaḍramawt is given below following the general direction from the west to the south (see *map 3*). Temples and the synagogue from the coastal sites of Biʾr ʿAlī and at Khor Rori lagoon are described separately.

The identification of the buildings described below as temples in the majority of cases is without doubt: many if not all of them revealed fragments of votive inscriptions with the names of gods and goddesses of the Ḥaḍramawt pantheon. When such material was not found, the prominent location and some features of the ground plan of the edifices testify to their possible functions.

1. SHABWA

The ruins of ancient temples at Shabwa (ancient *Sʾbwt*) were already recorded by the first European explorers to the site[1] *(fig. 17)*. Their location was confirmed in the course of the recent excavations and studies: three of them are situated inside the ancient town (*intra muros* temples – the big temple against the middle part of the south-eastern city wall and two edifices in the central part of the settlement), and one more sanctuary – in the close vicinity to it (*extra muros* temple).

Temple of Sayīn dhū-ʾIlīm (building 40) - The central road dividing the ancient town into two parts, roughly equal in size, starts from the north-east city-gate, immediately next to the royal palace of Shaqār. It ends in the vast square, at the opposite site of which, against the middle part of the south-eastern city wall, the remains of a monumental structure was situated (*bâtiment 40*). The ruins were identified as the main temple of Shabwa dedicated to Sayīn, the "federal" deity of the Ḥaḍramawt

[1] Cf. Philby 1939, pp. 85-106; Hamilton 1942, p. 112.

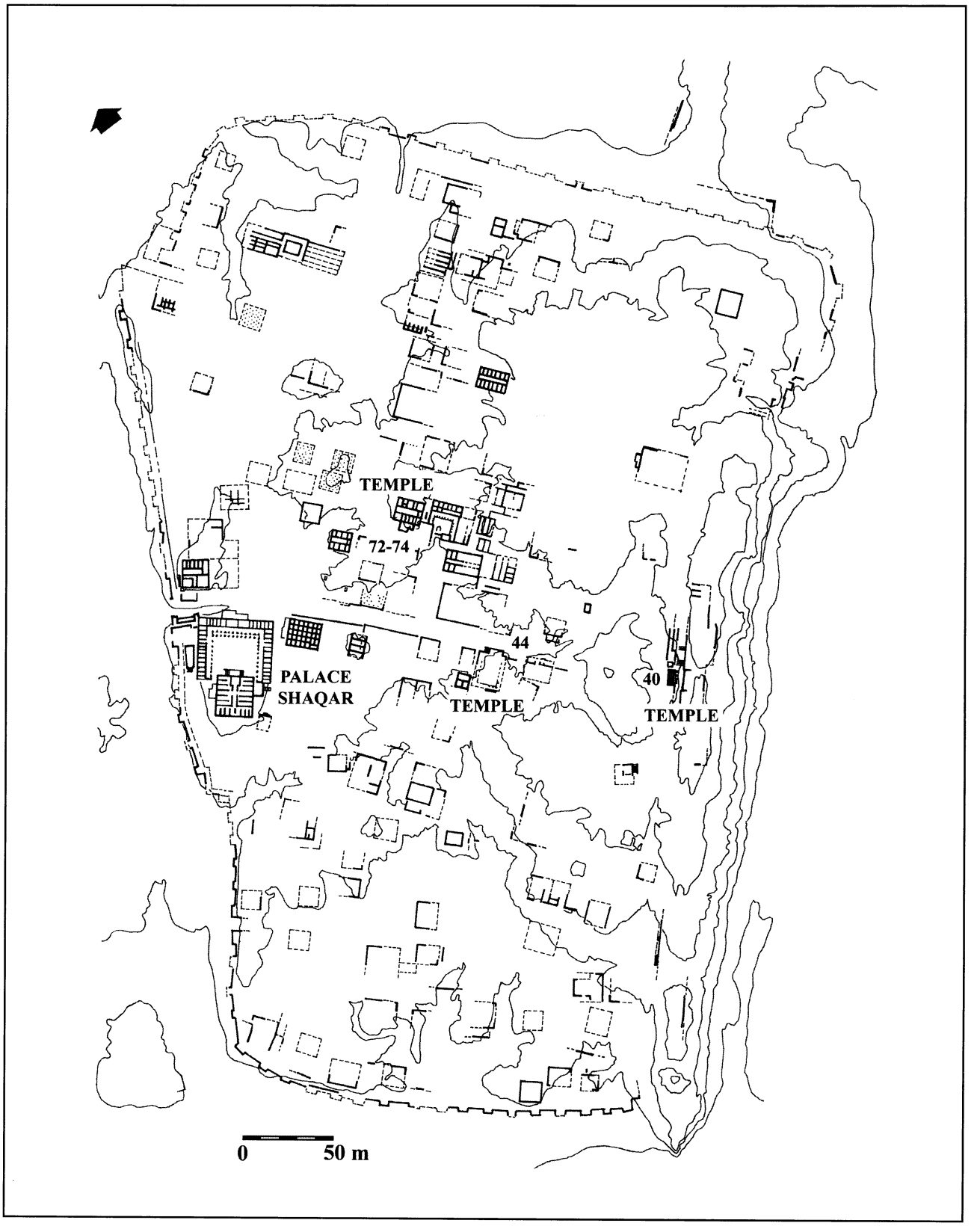

Figure 17. Shabwa, general plan of the settlement (after Breton 1992, fig. 9).

pantheon worshipped in Shabwa under the name of ʾIlīm (it seems that it was also the name of the ancient temple – "the master of (the temple) ʾIlīm"), although none of the votive inscriptions were found in it[2].

The main feature of the structure is a monumental staircase ending with four-column propylon (*figs. 18-19*). Next to the stone bases of the pillars of the propylon, to the north-west of it, a huge monolithic pedestal intended for a colossal human statue, probably bigger twice more than the life-size, was placed (see *pl. I*)[3]. Smaller prismatic-shaped pedestals were also constructed in front of each pillar of the propylon, against their stone bases.

All pedestals including the big one maintain foot-shaped cavities, sometimes with bronze inlay, intended for mounting human sculptures. An additional four low stone pedestals intended, according to four hoof-shaped cavities, for animal (bull?) figures were situated at the foot of the structure, next

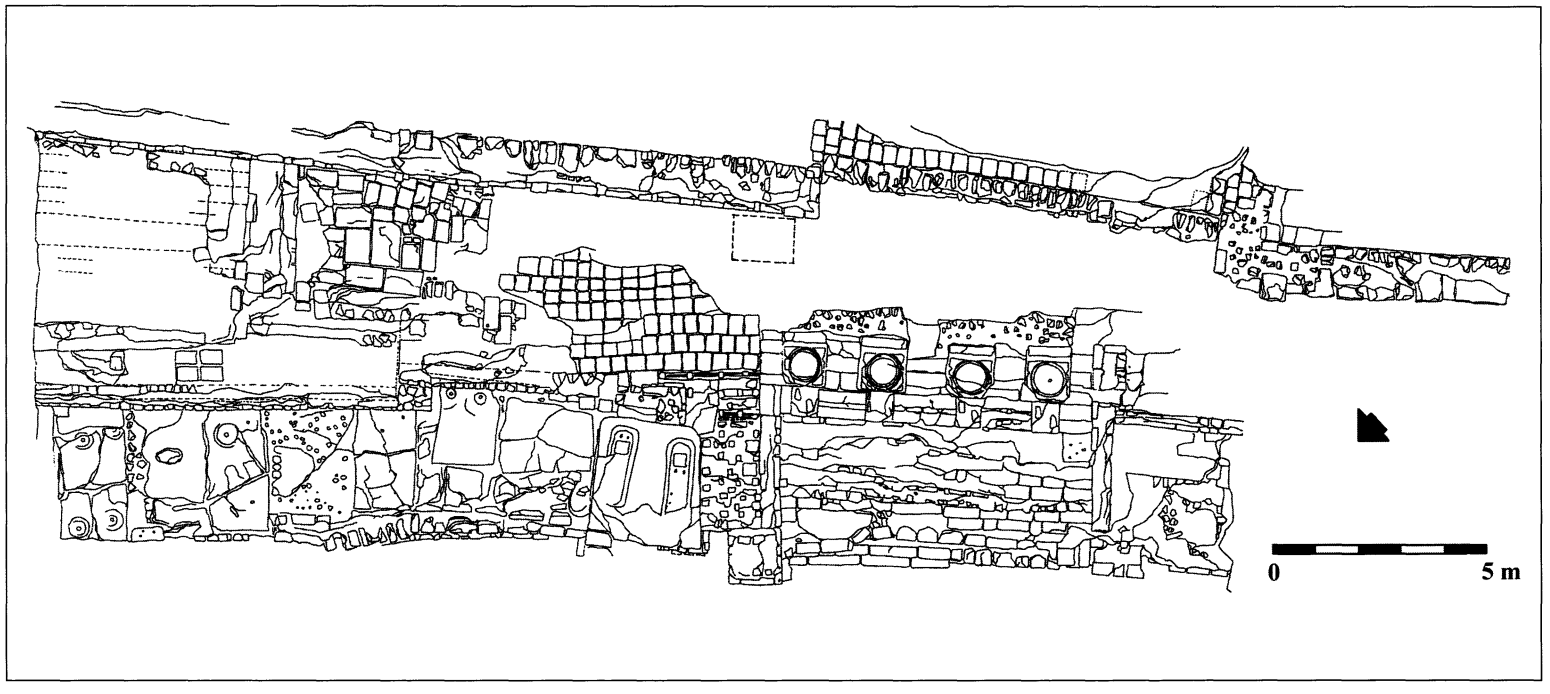

Figure 18. Shabwa, the main temple, general plan of excavated structures (after Breton, Darles 1998, fig. 1).

[2] Cf. Pirenne 1975; 1976; Breton, Darles 1998, p. 118; Breton 1998. It should be noted that graffito engraved on the fragment of slab found in the ruins of the temple (VIII/76/4; see Pirenne 1990, p. 86, fig. 26) most probably represents the degraded variant of the Ḥaḍrami royal monogram Shaqār (it constitutes of three letters: horizontal ⟩ = *s*², vertical ϕ = *q* without lower bar, and horizontal) = *r*).

[3] In one of the variants of reconstruction presented in the paper *Le travail de la pierre et les procédés constructifs à Shabwa, dans le Ḥaḍramawt antique* at the 4th International Conference on the Civilisation of Ancient Yemen, held on March, 10th-13th 1998 in Ṣanᶜāʾ, Republic of Yemen, Chr. Darles proposed the existence of two monolithic pedestals on both sides of the propylon. There are no grounds for such a reconstruction except the speculations about the possible symmetry.

to the huge pedestal. The monumental staircase and the propylon led to a rather narrow square set against the interior façade of the south-eastern city-wall faced by limestone slabs. Fine polished limestone slabs also paved the square.

A sanctuary and other structures which once constituted the main temple were not found. Most probably, they were situated to the north-east of the propylon – a stone staircase runs from the paved square behind the propylon in this direction. Unfortunately, several houses of the modern village north-east of the propylon occupy a long mound near the city-wall, which could contain the ruins. If this is correct, the entire layout of the temple Sayīn dhū-ʾIlīm in Shabwa might be similar to that of Sayīn dhū-Mayfaʿān in the Raybūn oasis, where a four-column propylon crowned a monumental staircase leading from the foothill was not connected to a sanctuary, but marked an entrance to a sacred territory around it (see below).

At least three constructional phases and a kind of "late renovation" were determined in the soundings of the excavated structure[4]. The earliest phase revealed the remains of a rectangular podium built against the interior façade of the south-eastern city wall.

According to J.-F. Breton, the main temple in Shabwa was in function in the 1st-3rd centuries AD and was abandoned, probably, simultaneously with the entire city[5].

Temple of Dhāt Ẓahrān (buildings 72-74) - The ruins of a structure partly excavated by A. Hamilton in 1938 is situated roughly in the centre of the ancient city, to the north-east of its main street (*bâtiments 72, 73* and *74* according to the numbering of the French Mission). It was identified as a sanctuary during the course of the excavations[6], which absolutely coincided with the content of the inscription (Hamilton 8) and some other finds like parts of marble statues and carvings revealed in it. The inscription, first published by A.F.L. Beeston, mentions a certain Raḍwān Yuhanʿīm, son of Wahabʾīl (*Rḍwn/Yhnʿm/bn/Whbʾl*) who directed, following the order of Ilīʿadhdh Yalūṭ, son of Yadaʿʾīl, king of Ḥaḍramawt (*ʾlʿḏ/Ylṭ/bn/Ydʿʾl/ mlk/Ḥḍrmt*), the construction (or reconstruction?) of the temple of Dhāt Ẓahrān goddess (*mḥrm/ḏt/Ẓhrn*)[7].

Hamilton unearthed parts of a probable sanctuary and an adjacent building (*fig. 20*). According to his description, a four-column portico (all four prismatic-shaped bases of its pillars remained *in situ*) with a paved floor was constructed on a porch in the south-western part of the building designed as an entrance to the sanctuary.

The second building lying to the north of the previous one was also partly excavated. It was a dwelling with a central corridor and a number of small premises constituted its ground floor. A narrow passageway, in which Hamilton discovered a well ("a shaft") with over-ground construction made of wood, separated two buildings[8]. Most probably, the latter building was an ordinary dwelling or a "house of the priest", the structure well known in other temple complexes in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt.

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[4] Breton, Darles 1998, pp. 101-111.
[5] Cf. Breton 1998, p. 227.
[6] Hamilton 1942, p. 116.
[7] Brown, Beeston 1954, pp. 55-56; cf. Pirenne 1990, p. 69.
[8] Hamilton 1942, p. 115; Brown, Beeston 1954, p. 44.

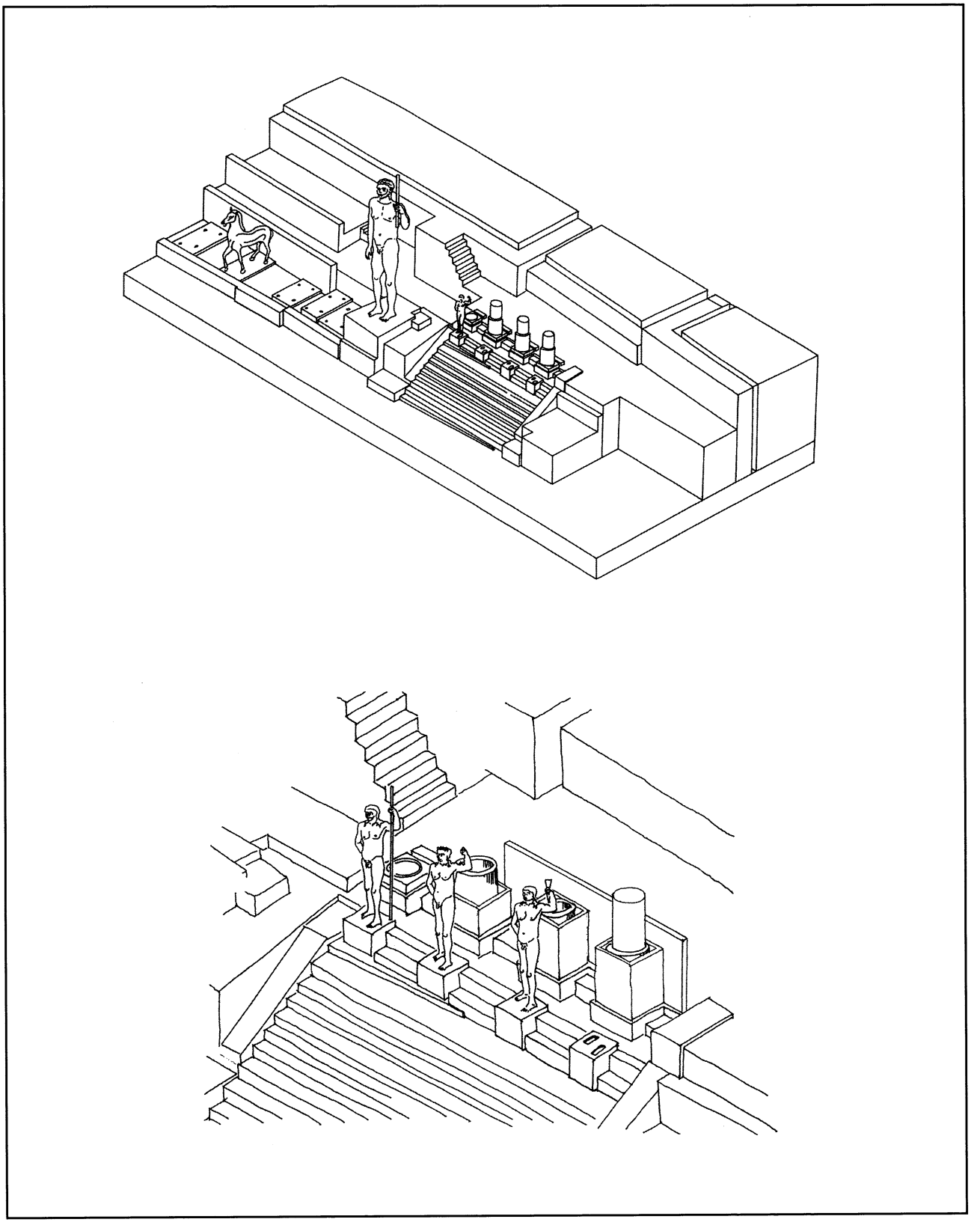

Figure 19. Shabwa, the main temple, variants of reconstruction (after Breton, Darles 1998, figs. 50 and 51).

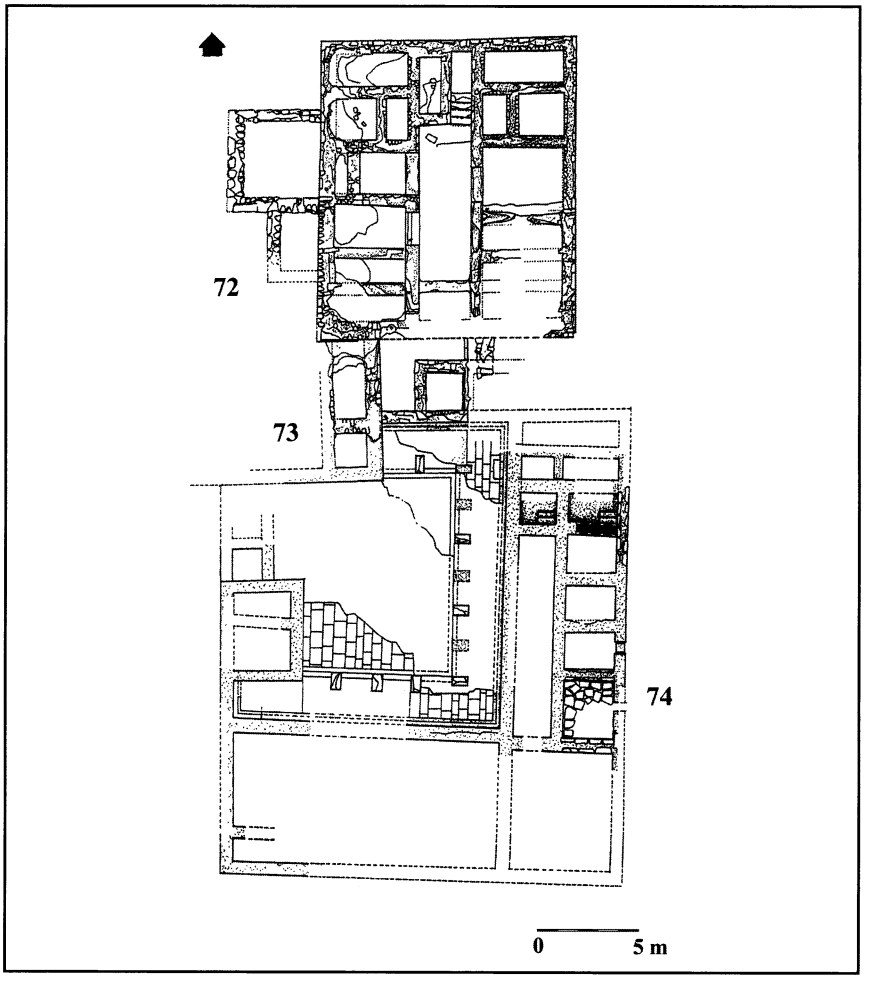

Figure 20. Shabwa, temple of Dhāt Ẓahran (buildings 72-73-74), general plan (after Breton 1998b, fig. 2).

In the filling of one of the premises an inscription was found mentioning the name of the house - Yafaᶜān (inscription Hamilton 1: 𐩴𐩣𐩱𐩴𐩺𐩱𐩵𐩵𐩧𐩣 = *Wd-ʾb/bythn/Yfᶜn* = «(God) Wadd is farther, (let to protect) the house Yafaᶜān»)[9]. The characters were executed in relief on a complete facing slab once decorated a mud-brick wall of the building. On epigraphical grounds it can be dated close to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD, which may give some ideas about the period of existence of the entire complex.

In the most recent publication of the results of their excavations at Shabwa, the French scholars rejected the identification of the buildings 72, 73 and 74 as a temple complex. They are basing their conclusions on additional cleaning of the structures[10]. According to their studies, what was supposed to be a sanctuary with a four-column portico was in fact a house with inner paved courtyard surrounded from its three sides by a pillar gallery. The premises to the east, south and west of the courtyard,

[9] Beeston 1947, p. 53; Brown, Beeston 1954, p. 53; Pirenne 1990, pp. 72-73.
[10] Breton 1998a; 1998b.

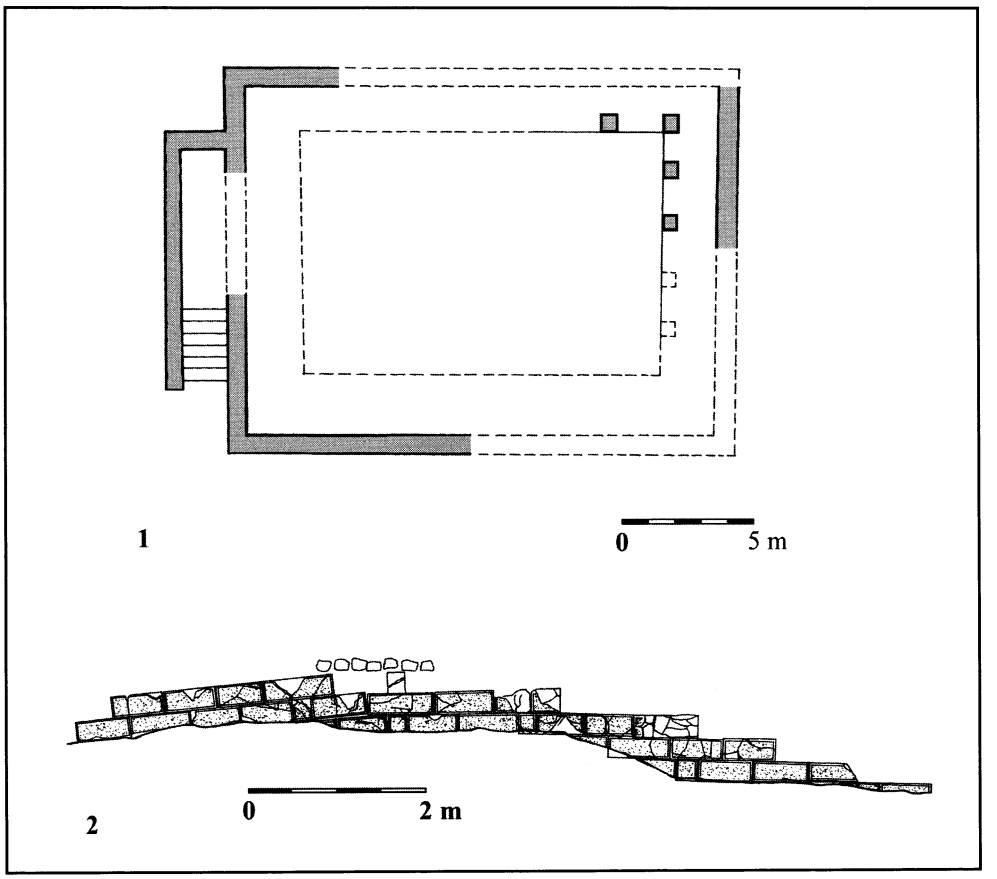

Figure 21. Shabwa, intra muros *temple (building 44). 1 - general plan; 2 - eastern façade (after Breton 1998c, figs. 2 and 3).*

where inscription Hamilton 8 and fragments of carvings and statues were found, constituted the ground floor of the building.

In fact, it is not clear from the publication why the above-mentioned building (*bâtiment 74*) with paved inner courtyard and pillar gallery was identified as "l'architecture civile urbaine", while another one with a rather similar superstructure – as "l'architecture religieuse" (*bâtiment 44*; see below). Based on the epigraphical evidence (inscription Hamilton 8) and on the character of the finds from Hamilton's excavations, it is more plausible, in my opinion, to keep the possible attribution of the buildings 72, 73 and 74 as the temple of Dhāt Ẓahrān, of course, taking into account the results of the studies of the French colleagues.

Intra muros *sanctuary (building 44)* - The ruins of the building very tentatively identified as a sanctuary are located in the central part of the ancient settlement, immediately to the south of its main street (*fig. 21*:1). The building was constructed above the stone platform, 12.3x16.3 m in size, oriented in an east-west direction. The façade walls of the platform were decorated with fine limestone slabs (*fig. 21*:2). The staircase, 10.4 m long and 2.0 m wide, attached to the eastern side of the platform faced towards the main street led to a rather narrow porch, and through an entrance now completely destroyed – to the inner courtyard, surrounded by a pillar gallery, 1.4-1.8 m wide, with,

probably, slightly raised floor. Four prismatic shaped stone bases presumably for wooden pillars, 0.4x0.45 m in size, were preserved *in situ* in the south-western corner of the gallery. The outer walls of the building, 0.8 m wide, were made from the wooden carcass filled with mud-bricks and clay, and were placed on the stone foundation.

The identification of the excavated building as the sanctuary is very hypothetical. Most probably, it was the one-store building with very simple interior design as the open inner courtyard surrounded by the pillar gallery, and it seems unlikely that such building can be used as dwelling[11]. On the other hand, the lack of such cult structures like altar, podium, cella or niche prevents us from giving it a certain attribution of a building with religious functions.

Extra muros *temple* - The ruins of the structure identified as an *extra muros* temple are located on the slope of Qarat al-Hadida in c. 200 m to the north-west of the main gates of the ancient city (*fig. 22*). The low trapezoid stone platform of the building, *c.* 8.0x14.5 m in size, was constructed on a horizontal terrace made from large pebbles mixed with clay mortar. It seems that the platform was surrounded by a wide, 0.5-0.6 m, stone plinth. The long axes of the building were oriented in the north-south direction. The entrance to the building from the north was probably designed as a multi-column portico with wide central staircase: part of a stone pavement and a stone base (?) of a pillar preserved *in situ* in this part of the structure. The entrance led to the central hall, *c.* 6.0x11.0 m in size, once probably divided into three naves by two rows of pillars (not preserved). The floor of the hall was paved with fine polished limestone slabs preserved *in situ* in its south-western part. A stone bench was constructed against the western wall of the hall (partially excavated)[12].

In addition to the specific layout and its location, the identification of the building as the *extra muros* temple can be confirmed by the finds of a number of fragments of votive stelae and facing slabs with carvings and partially preserved inscriptions[13].

2. AL-ᶜUQLA

The site of al-ᶜUqla is located in the desert area roughly 15 km west of the Shabwa settlement. It consists of several rocks the faces of which are covered with inscriptions commemorating a kind of crowning ceremony held by the Ḥaḍrami kings of the 3rd century AD[14]. The central rock of the group is surmounted, as described by B. Doe, «by a small stone building and is surrounded by a boundary wall on three sides with a ditch which levels out at the south-western side»[15]. The French scholars conducted their research at the site in 1970s and 80s published the more detailed description of the ruins, which they identified as a sanctuary[16].

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[11] Breton 1998c.

[12] Breton 1998d.

[13] Breton 1998d, pp. 158, 161, figs. 2-8.

[14] The complete publications of the al-ᶜUqla texts see in Beeston 1938; 1939; Ryckmans G. 1950, pp. 4852-4902; Jamme 1963; Bāfaqīh 1967; Pirenne 1990, pp. 95-120.

[15] Doe 1971, p. 233.

[16] Darles 1998a.

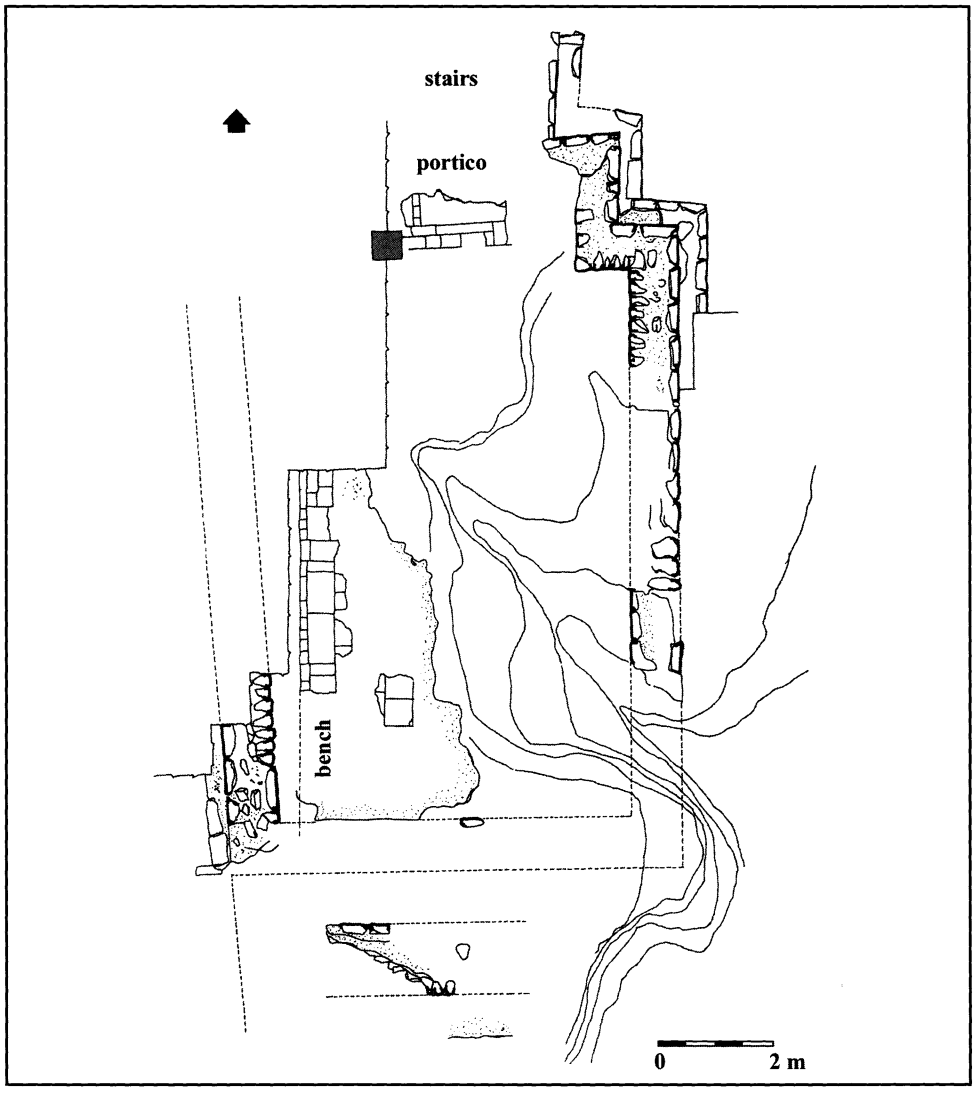

Fig. 22. Shabwa, extra muros *temple, general plan (after Breton 1998d, fig. 1).*

Sanctuary - Three structures located on three different terraces constituted the entire complex of the sanctuary (*fig. 23*). Its core was a square building, 4.9x5.0 m in size, with the entrance in the centre of the south-eastern wall. A staircase led to the entrance of the building from the foot of the rock where remains of a stone structure, probably, once constituted a low platform or a porch was cleaned. The floor and the walls of the interior square room, 3.6x3.6 m in size, were nicely plastered with a kind of cement mortar. The walls were probably once faced with decorated and painted limestone slabs found in fragments on the floor of the room.

A podium, 0.7x0.9 m in size and 0.2 m high, was constructed roughly against the central part of the north-western wall of the room opposite to the entrance. A stone block used, probably, as base of a pillar once supported the roof was found mounted into the floor in the centre of the room.

A cistern or water tank, oval in layout, 2.6x3.1 m in size and 1.2 m deep, was constructed outside the building attached to its northern corner. The bottom of the cistern is set 1.9 m lower than

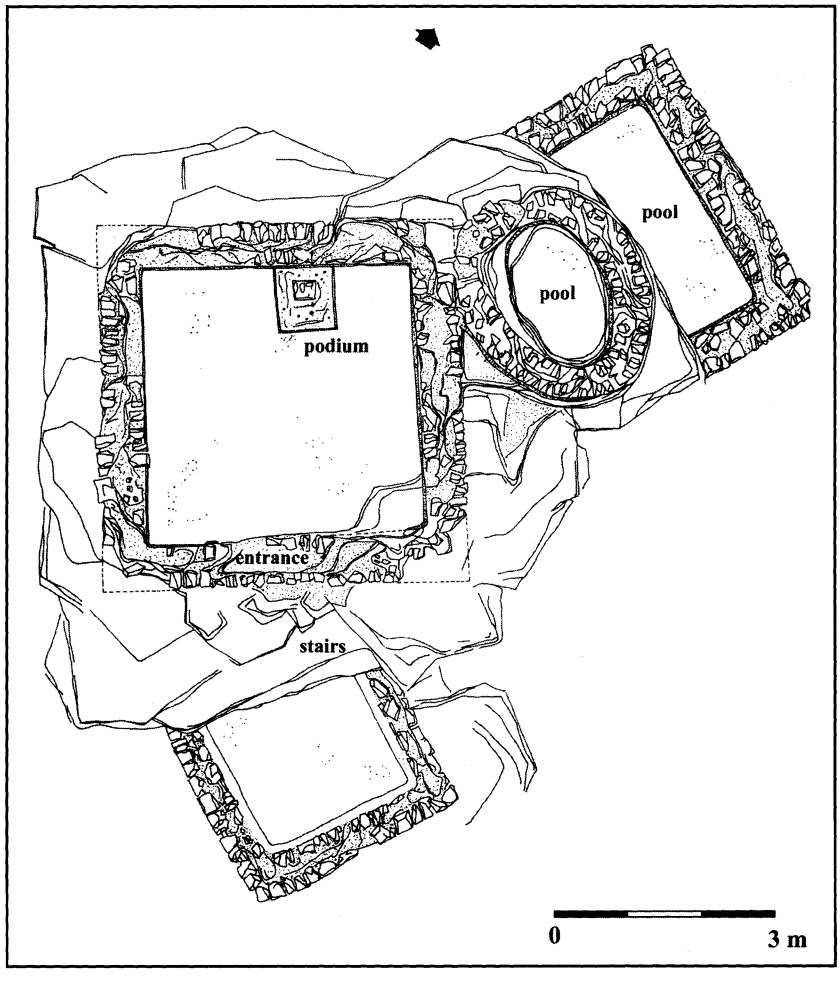

Fig. 23. Al-ʿUqla sanctuary, general plan (after Darles 1998a, fig. 1).

the floor of the room in the building. The second cistern or water tank, rectangular in layout, 1.7-2.3x4.3 m in size and 1.7 m deep, was located at the foot of the rock with the bottom *c.* 4.0 m lower than one of the first cistern. As was stated by B. Doe, «both tanks are of rough masonry construction, roughly coursed and bedded in lime mortar with rendering of lime plaster on the outside as well as within. It does not seem likely that these tanks are contemporary with the inscriptions, nor with the building on the top of the rock. Part of the lower tank wall, which is two feet thick, covers two inscriptions where it butts against (now cleared) the rock surface»[17]. On the contrary, the French scholars considered the cisterns as the integral part of the sanctuary at the site of al-ʿUqla (ancient *ʾnwdm* according to J. Pirenne[18]), which included also, in addition to the water cisterns, the building on the rock, and the rock itself with royal inscriptions engraved on it.

[17] Doe 1971, p. 234.

[18] She translated *gndlhn/ʾnwdm* occurred in the al-ʿUqla inscriptions as «l'aire pierreuse ʾAnwadum» or «au rocher ʾAnwadum» (Pirenne 1990, pp. 97, 108), while both A.F.L. Beeston and A. Jamme preferred the interpretation «the fortress ʾAnwadum» (Beeston 1938, p. 317; Jamme 1963, p. 10). It should be noted that the expression *mḥfdn/ʾnwdm* = «the tower ʾAnwadum» or «the fortress ʾAnwadum» also occurred in the al-ʿUqla texts (see, for instance, Philby 52=RES 4878=Ja 957 and others).

The identification of the al-ʿUqla ruins as the sanctuary is based on the architectural parallels for the layout of the building, and first of all – on the presence of the podium intended for some rituals performed in its room. In fact, such attribution seems to be more suitable that the assumption of B. Doe that the building «was linked with the celebration of the royal house of Shabwa, and may have been a form of throne or retiring room for the ruler»[19], although it should be seriously proved by further studies.

3. BIʾR ḤAMAD

Biʾr Ḥamad is the only big pre-Islamic site situated in the huge area between Shabwa, the capital of ancient Ḥaḍramawt, and the internal regions of the ancient kingdom, *i.e.* the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt. It is located in the deserted area between the mouth of Wādī Rakhya and the mouth of Wādī Duhr, in close vicinity to the modern well called Biʾr Ḥamad.

Like the majority of the pre-Islamic towns in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, the settlement was probably unfortified, as there are no traces of a defensive wall of the town[20]. The site occupies a large triangle mound, *c.* 200x300 m in size or about 6 ha in extent, and is about 5.5-6.0 m high (*fig. 24*).

Traces of five stone foundations with the ruins of mud-brick superstructures are clearly visible on the surface of the site. Remnants of mud-brick houses could also be distinguished in the western part of the site. The presence of ceramic slags and burnt plaster suggests the existence of pottery kilns in the south-western part of the settlement.

The repertoire of pottery forms and comparisons with the rather well-dated Raybūn material suggests the approximate chronological limits for Biʾr Ḥamad settlement from the last quarter of the 2nd millennium BC to the late 1st century BC[21].

The ruins of two large structures were located beyond the limits of the main settlement's area, and both of them were identified as *extra muros* temples.

Temple of Sayīn - The ruins of Building A, situated 100 m to the north of the main settlement, consisted of a mud-brick structure built on a stone platform, *c.* 8x10 m in size. The structure above the platform is preserved to a height of about 1.5 m, and a wide stone staircase leads up to the building from the south-east. Fragments of fine polished stone slabs once decorating the walls of the building were engraved with votive inscriptions. The preserved content make it possible to identify the Building A as a temple dedicated to Sayīn, the "federal" deity of Ḥaḍramawt.

Temple of Dhāt Ḥimyam - The ruins of Building B, situated 75 m to the south-east of the main settlement, consist of traces of two mud-brick structures (B1 and B2), also built on the stone foundations. They had suffered badly from stone robbing, and it is impossible to determine their

[19] Doe 1971. p. 234.

[20] French team made the archaeological reconnaissance at the area in 1993 reported about the remains of a mud-brick wall surrounding the ancient town, which was visible in the slanting light during the evening hours (pers. com. by M. Mouton).

[21] Sedov 1995.

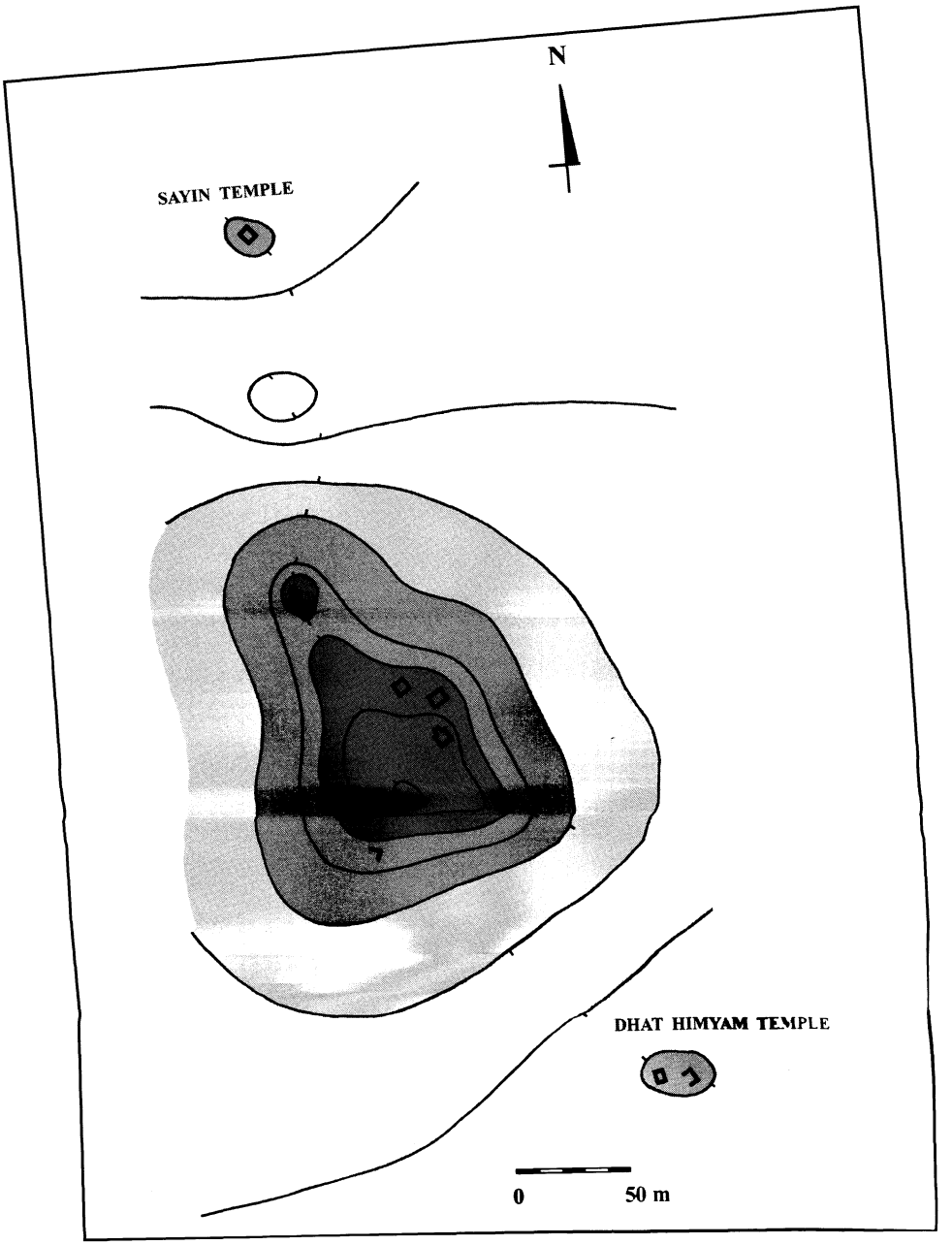

Figure 24. Bi'r Ḥamad settlement, sketch plan (drawing by A. Sedov).

dimensions without excavation. Judging by the discovery of a bronze votive statuette at the floor pavement of the ruins of Building B2 and dedicative inscriptions, the complex can be identified as a temple of the goddess Dhāt Ḥimyam.

The statuette, which stands *c.* 12.0 cm and was cast in a mould, is that of human, probably a male, figure in a long dress (?). The head is disproportional large. The face has a prominent nose and slightly convex eyes. The hair is shown as a narrow band around the forehead. The figure's short arms are bent at the elbows, while the hands are depicted as if holding onto something. The statuette's base suggests that it meant to be mounted in a small stone (?) pedestal (see *fig. 7*).

Comparable small bronze figurines are quite common in South Arabia. A well-known bronze statuette from Najrān of a female bears a dedication to the goddess ᶜUzzayān, and has been dated paleographically to the 1st century BC[22]. A very similar bronze figurine was found at Qaryat al-Fāw[23]. Another specimen of unknown provenance was published in the *Catalogue* of the Münich Yemeni exhibition[24]. Several more examples can be found in Aden and Ṣanᶜāᵓ National Museums, and in the Louvre[25].

4. RAYBŪN OASIS

One of the most characteristic features of the complex of archaeological monuments investigated in the lower reaches of Wādī Dawᶜan are an unusual concentration of sacral buildings (*fig. 25*). The dominant position of shrines and temples is recorded at almost all settlements of the ancient oasis like, for instance, at the site of Raybūn I where two *intra muros* temples, Raḥbān and Ḥaḍrān, were excavated, and one more temple apparently sacred to Sayīn (according to a dedication found in the ruins of a structure in the centre of the site) was recorded. In addition, temple complexes and single temples were explored at the slopes of the valley in connection with ancient necropolises or amidst ancient fields.

RAYBŪN I SETTLEMENT

Raybūn I is the largest settlement in the oasis (*fig. 26;* see *pl. II*, 1). It is situated in the central part of the Wadi Dawᶜan, at the end of the southern main canal. The settlement extends from the north to the south for 460 m and from the east to the west for a little bit more than 400 m, and covers an area of over 18 ha. Its layout forms a kind of triangle with the top oriented towards the north.

It seems that the settlement was not fortified, and ancient houses were scattered quite chaotically on the territory of the settlement, so it is hard to trace the direction of ancient streets or the location of squares. Most likely there was no regular planning of the site.

Two *intra muros* temples were excavated at the Raybūn I settlement.

Temple of ᶜAthtarūm/ᶜAśtarūm dhāt-Ḥaḍrān (Raybūn I, building 1) - The temple lies on the northern outskirts of the Raybūn I settlement occupying the top point of the triangle-shaped figure formed a layout of the ancient site[26]. A well, apparently used for temple purposes, is found to the south of the building, close to the settlement (see *pl. XX*, 1). It measures 6.0x8.0 m, and it walls were faced by rough dressed stones.

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[22] Van Beek , Jamme 1976.

[23] Al-Ansary 1982, p. 108; pl. 1.2.

[24] Cf. Yemen 1987, p. 108 («Male votive figure, Sabaean»). The figurine is from Dr. W. Daum's private collection, now in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Münich, reg. no. 90-313 267.

[25] Cf. Ali Aqil 1991, p. 6 (siegles NAM 2575 and YM 2458); Calvet, Robin 1997, pp. 245-246 (reg. no. AO 4607).

[26] Koshelenko, Kropotkin 1996.

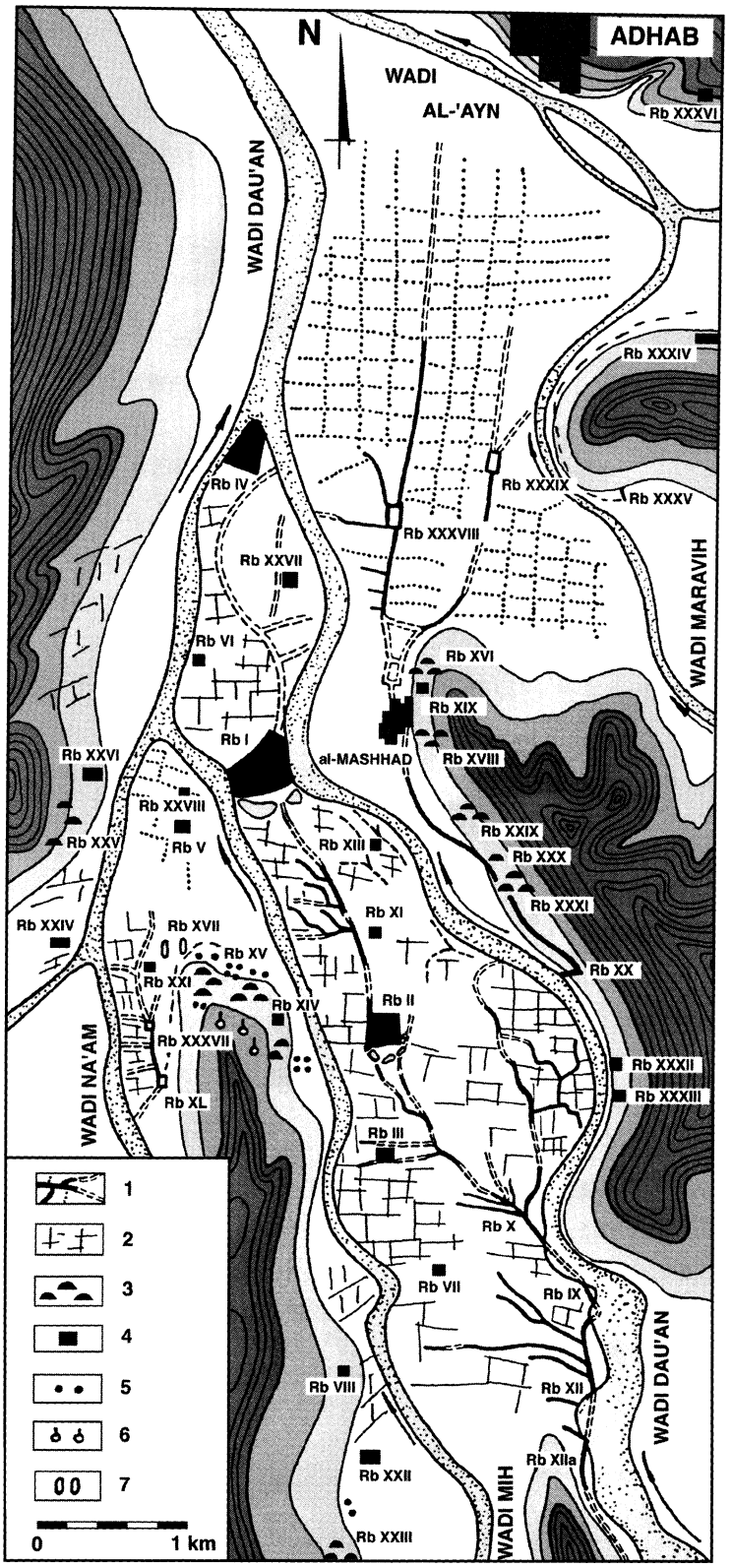

Figure 25. Archaeological monuments of the Raybūn oasis, sketch plan (drawing by A. Sedov). 1 - ancient irrigation canals; 2 - borders of ancient fields; 3 - cave tombs; 4 - ancient settlements, farms, temples and temple complexes; 5 - camel burials; 6 - cairns; 7 - ground cemeteries.

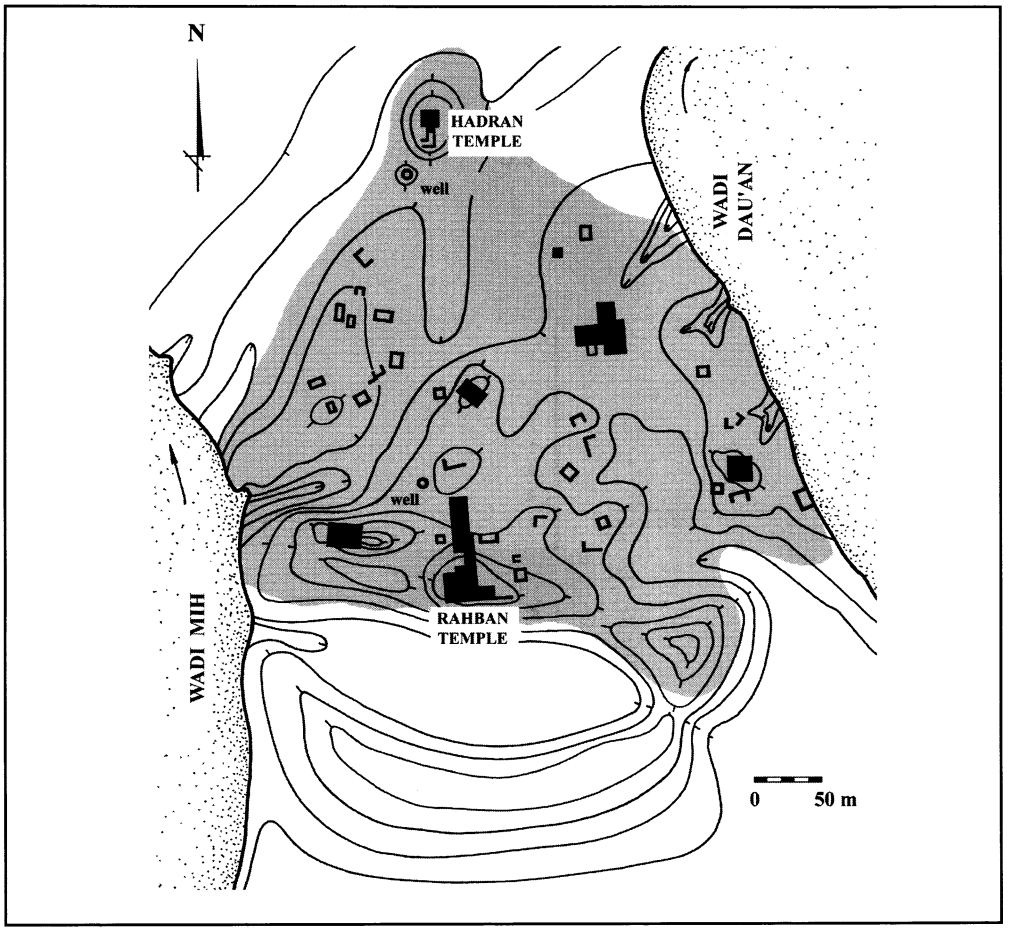

Figure 26. Raybūn I settlement, sketch plan (drawing by Ju. Kozhin and A. Sedov).

"Early sanctuary" - A structure, originally erected on the place of the temple, was built from mud-bricks. It occupies a low natural elevation the slopes of which were reinforced by mud and loess. In the initial phase (phase Ia) two rooms constitute the original building (*fig. 27*:1): a room, trapezoidal in layout, 3.0-4.0x8.75 m in size, oriented in a north-east direction (*Room 1*), and adjoining premises, rectangular in lay-out, 2.0x2.6 m in size (*Room 2*). Both premises had wide entrances from the south. The exterior surface of the walls of room 2 was painted with red, which gives an idea that the entire structure was painted on outside.

At least three phases of renovation were traced in the "early" building. During the phase Ib (*fig. 27*:2) the floor level in the room 1 was raised up to 0.4 m, and a mud-brick bench, 0.5 m wide and 0.35 m high, was erected along its eastern wall. The entrance to room 2 was blocked, and the room itself completely filled with mud, clay and fragments of mud-bricks. According to the excavators, a constructed platform was *c.* 1.0 m high, and was used «apparently, for cult purposes». The top of the platform could be reached from the north or west with the help of a wooden ladder (?)[27].

[27] KOSHELENKO, KROPOTKIN 1996, p. 38.

Later, in the phase Ic (*fig. 27*:3), a small additional room (*Room 3*), 2.2x2.2 m in size, was built south of the platform. Like the previous ones, it also had an entrance from the south. During the last phase of renovation, phase Id (*fig. 27*:4), the space of the room 3 was reduced, and a new *Room 4* adjoined its southern wall. The possibility, that some additional structures of the "early" sanctuary remained untouched could not be excluded.

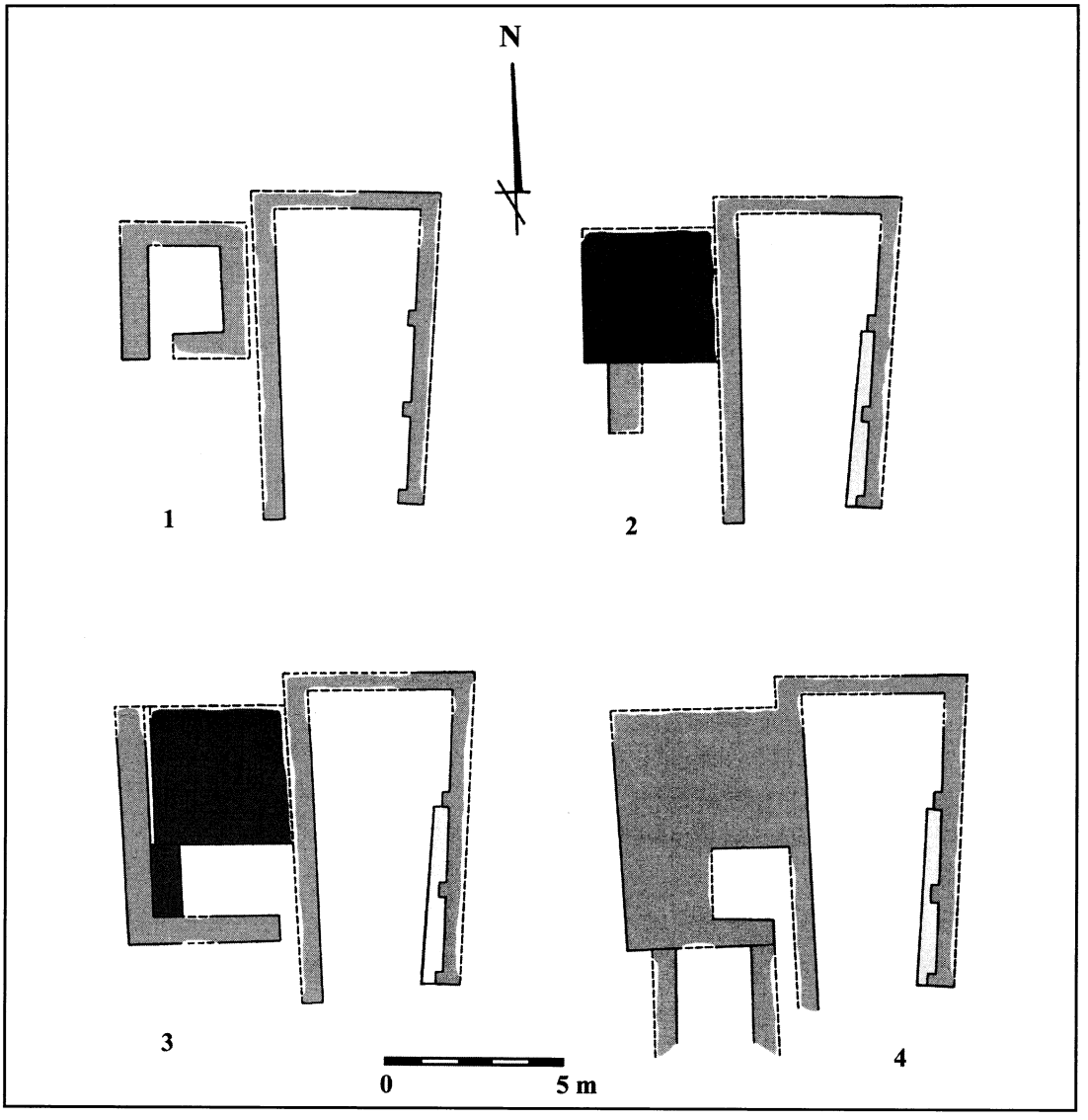

Figure 27. Temple ᶜAthtarūm/ᶜAśtarūm dhāt-Ḥaḍrān, "early sanctuary", plans of different phases. 1 - phase Ia; 2 - phase Ib; 3 - phase Ic; 4 - phase Id (after Koshelenko, Kropotkin 1996, pl. XXXIII).

Identifying these structures as a sanctuary is not sufficient. None of the inscriptions revealed during the course of the excavations of the temple could be attributed to the "early" rooms. The temple of Ḥaḍrān was erected on the ruins of the "early" structures on a stone foundation or socle (see below), and a big fragment of an offering table with votive inscription engraved on its sides (inscription Raybūn-Ḥaḍrān 63) was found in the filling of this foundation. The offering table was definitely in use before the construction of Ḥaḍrān has started, and its presence gives some support to the idea that an "early" sanctuary once existed at the area. The pottery assemblage revealed in the ruins of the "early" structure belongs to the "Middle Raybūn" period (phase MR-II), and can be dated not before the late 6th-5th centuries BC (see *Appendix II, Table 2*)[28].

Ḥaḍrān temple - A stone foundation or socle was built on the ruins of the "early" building for the Ḥaḍrān temple (*fig. 28*). It measures 13.1x14.9 m with orientation in a north-south direction. A porch, 2.7x4.5 m in size, adjoins the southern side of the socle. Stone bases of a four-column portico remained *in situ* on the top of the porch. Massive side bases are almost twice as high as those situated in the middle. They are 0.75x1.0 m in size, and 0.6-0.62 m (side bases) and 0.23-0.3 m (middle bases) high. Rectangular cavities, 30x45 cm in size and 2-3 cm deep, to fix wooden (?) pillars occupied the upper surfaces of each base.

A monumental staircase, *c.* 6.5 m long and 4.8 m wide, runs to the top of the porch from the south. In the last period of the temple's existence its low steps were levelled and a kind of flat elevation was arranged. A small side staircase was also erected probably close to that period. It runs on the top of the porch behind the pillars of the portico from the west, and is 3.0 m long, 1.7 m wide; the height of its steps is 0.2-0.25 m. A stone basin, 35x50x78 cm in size, was mounted into a parapet in the middle part of the staircase.

An entrance to the building, 2.1 m wide, was located behind the four-column portico. The remains of a wooden doorframe, a doorstep and parts of vertical beams were traced in the entrance, which led to a small vestibule or corridor, 2.3 m wide. The vestibule had a low stone door-step in its northern part, and ended to a hypostyle hall, 10.8x11.3 m in size, divided into five naves by 20 pillars arranged into four rows (side rows had six pillars, and middle ones – four pillars in each). Two rectangular rooms were situated in the southern part of the building, on both sides of the vestibule. The west room (*Room 1*) was 2,3x4,0 m in size, and was connected with the hypostyle hall through a passage in the centre of its northern wall, 1.4 m wide. Remains of a stone staircase, 1.07 m wide, leading to the roof or to the upper floor of the building were discovered in its southern part. Three low steps, 0.18x0.20 m high and 0.28-0.30 m wide, are remained *in situ*. The east room (*Room 2*), 2.1x3.7 m in size, also had an entrance in its north wall from the hypostyle hall, *c.* 0.9 m wide.

A podium was constructed in the northern part of the hall, close to its northern wall. It measures 2.6x3.2 m, and was preserved at the height of about 0.5 m. A low row of fine polished limestone slabs once facing its southern façade was still preserved *in situ*. Prismatic-shaped stone blocks serving, probably, as bases for incense-burners occupied two façade corners of the podium.

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[28] SEDOV 2003.

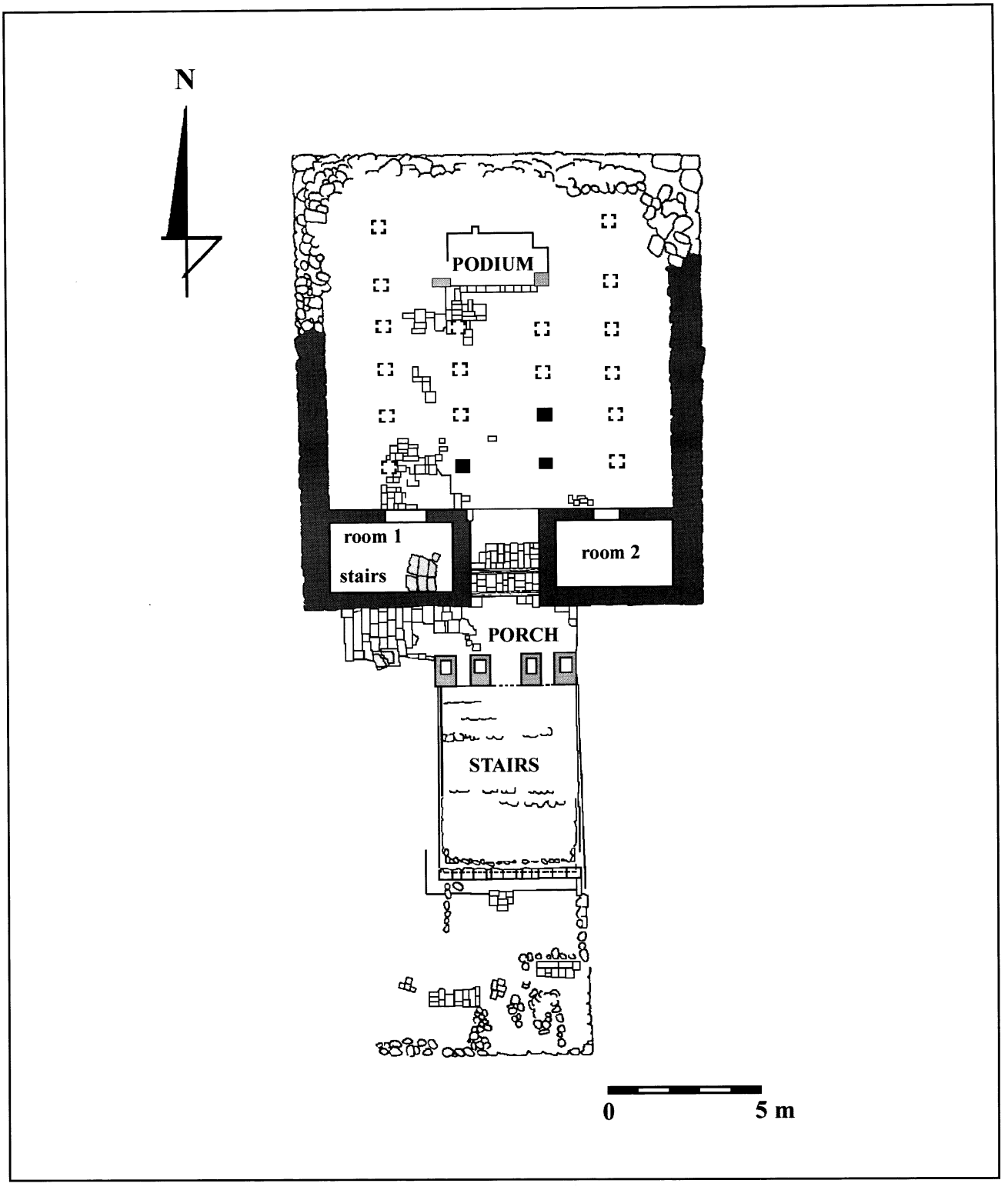

Figure 28. Temple ᶜAthtarūm/ᶜAśtarūm dhāt-Ḥaḍrān, general plan (drawing by Ju. Kozhin and A. Sedov).

The floor of the hypostyle hall as well as floors in the vestibule, in lateral rooms and in the portico were paved with fine-polished limestone slabs. Many of them bore parts of votive inscriptions, *i.e.* were re-used taken from the earlier structures. Dedicative inscriptions were also engraved on the fine-polished limestone slabs facing on the exterior of the mud-brick walls of the building, side walls of the socle and the foundations and steps of both staircases. They were found in the heaps along east, north and west sides of the stone socle and on the surface of the southern staircase. Surprisingly, very few fragments of votive stelae were discovered. Parts of offerings which include small stone incense-burners, personal ornaments like gold, bronze, stone, glass, clay and shell beads and pendants, golden bracelet, round plaque and golden tips of a belt (see *pl. XVI*), a bronze Ḥaḍramawt imitation of Athenian tetradrachms with pseudo-Greek legend on the reverse[29], fragments of bronze, stone and glass vessels etc. were found on the pavement in front of the podium.

According to the excavators, several phases of reconstruction and renovations of the building could be traced such as, for instance, hard work to consolidate the northern side of the socle or renovation works on the southern monumental staircase and decorating works in the vestibule, hypostyle hall, and in the rooms 1 and 2. It has to be pointed out, that none of these works affected the general layout of the building[30]. The end of the Ḥaḍrān temple was violent: it was destroyed and abandoned after a big fire which took place approximately in the last decades of the 1st century BC simultaneously with the disaster which affected the entire ancient oasis of Raybūn. The construction of the temple falls down on the end of the "Middle Raybūn" period (phase MR-II), *i.e.* on the early 5th century BC[31].

Temple of Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Raḥbān (Raybūn I, buildings 2-4, 7) - The huge temple complex dominating the whole ancient site was discovered on the southern border of the Raybūn-I settlement (*fig. 29;* see *pl. II,* 2). The well, 5.0x7.0 m in size, was located to the north of the temple, in close vicinity to it.

The excavations revealed four monumental buildings constructed on stone socles, and passages and squares between them. A vast paved square with remains of a "drainage" system and pillared gallery along its eastern side served, probably, as the inner courtyard of the temple complex[32].

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[29] Sedov 1998a, p. 29.

[30] According to the excavators, the remains of the intermediate temple, the so-called "temple IIA" erected on the ruins of the "early" structure prior the stone foundation or socle for Ḥaḍrān temple could be traced. But the published description of these ruins indicates that we are dealing not with the remains of a separate structure denoted as the "temple IIA" with almost unclear layout, but with the remains of the socle constructions itself. The "body" of the socle was constructed from the wide outer stone walls and from the inner narrow walls which divided the socle space into long narrow compartments mirroring the layout of the building erected above. All walls of the socle were built from rough dressed stones mounted into a kind of mud plaster, which also covered their outer surfaces. The walls were used as foundations for the pillar bases erecting in the hypostyle hall as well as for pillars of the portico and for foundation of the podium. The compartments were filled up with small stones, pebbles, mud, clay, and fragments of mud-bricks. The above-mentioned fragment of the offering table with dedicative inscription (inscription Raybūn-Ḥaḍrān 63) was found in the filling of one of the compartments (cf. Koshelenko, Kropotkin 1996, pp. 39-41).

[31] Sedov 2003.

[32] Peters 1996; Akopyan 1994.

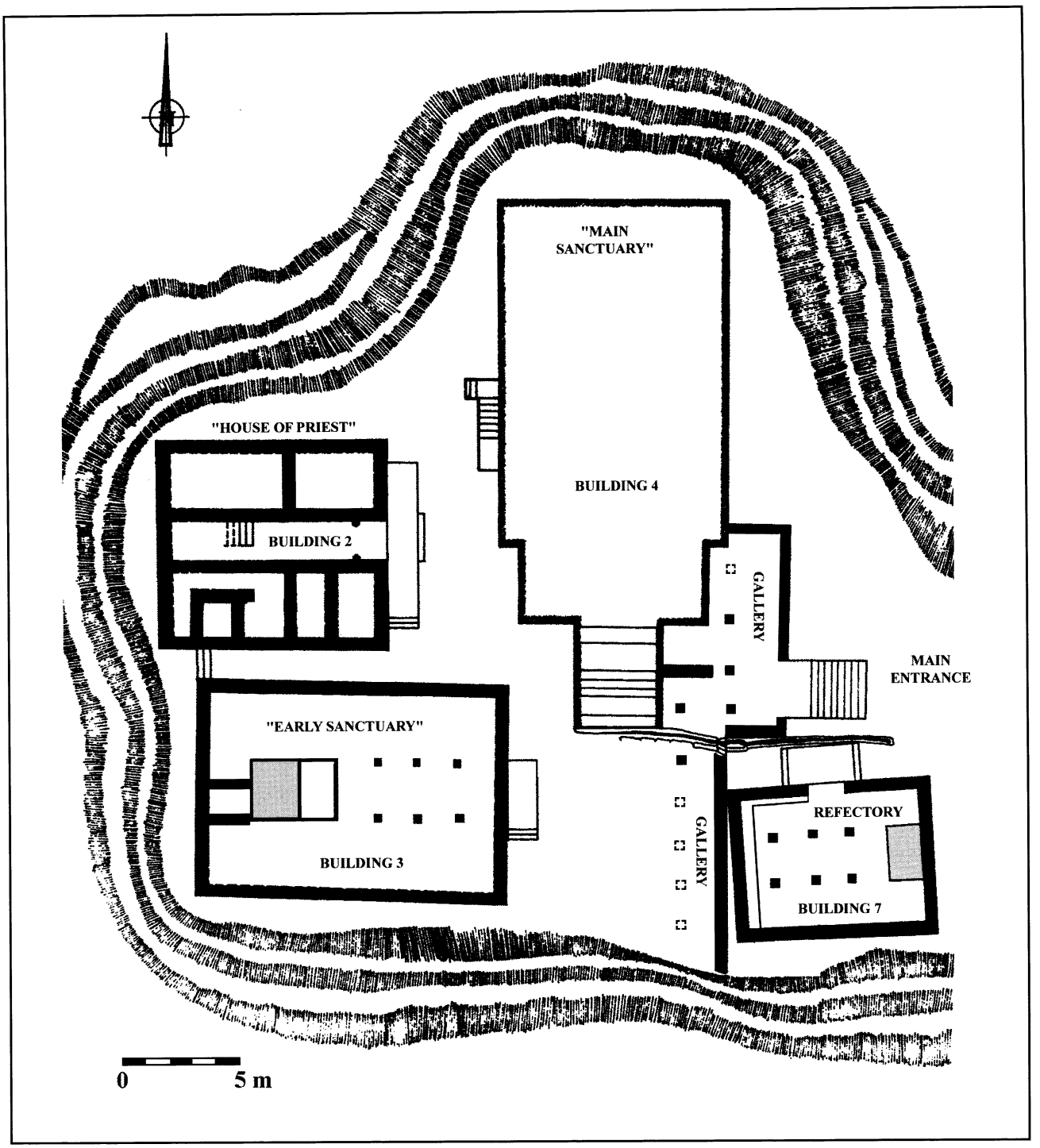

Figure 29. Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Raḥbān, general plan of the complex (drawing by A. Tonikjan and A. Sedov).

Several soundings revealed cultural deposits preceding the construction of the monumental buildings of the complex. The very first strata consists of ruins of mud-brick constructions, later levelled to make an artificial platform supporting the stone socles of the temple buildings. It has to be pointed out that the earliest radiocarbon dating (sample GIN-4111: 3400±70 BP; see *Appendix II, Table 1*) came from the wooden sample found in one of those soundings, at the base of the socle of Building 3 ("early sanctuary"). It seems that different levels of foundations of stone socles indicate the different periods of construction of monumental buildings.

The earliest edifice was probably *Building 3* located in the south-west corner of the temple complex (*fig. 30*). It was set along east-west axis and measured 9.5x13.75 m. On the eastern side a staircase, 2.3 m long and 1.5 m wide constructed from mud-bricks, approached the entrance from the square in front of the building. The entrance led to the hypostyle *hall*, 5.7x7.7 m in size, occupying the major part of the building. Two rows of pillars divided the hall into three naves. Six wooden (?) pillars on prismatic-shaped stone bases constituted each row. Low stone benches were erected between the bases of the pillars. Unfortunately, the very poor state of preservation of the eastern part of the edifice prevented determining the existence of symmetrical rooms on both sides of the entrance, as it was in the majority of the sacral buildings in Ḥaḍramawt, but it seems that the eastern part of the hypostyle hall had no space for such constructions.

The centre of the western part of the hall was occupied by a cubic-shaped podium measuring 2.5x3.5 m and rising to the height of c. 1.0 m. Its "body" was made from a wooden framework filled with pebbles, mud and broken mud-bricks. The podium was faced with polished limestone slabs sometimes bearing parts of votive inscriptions (re-used slabs from previous constructions). Whether there was a small staircase leading to the top of the podium, like in Kafas/Naᶜmān temple (see below), is not clear. A square in front of the podium, 1.3x2.3 m in size, was fenced with prismatic-shaped polished limestone blocks and polished slabs arranged as a row of low benches. A rectangular offering table with long gutter running towards the southern wall of the building was mounted into the floor along the eastern side of the fenced square[33].

The space behind the podium was divided into three premises by mud-brick walls with a wooden framework erected perpendicular to the western wall of the building. We may assume that initially there were four premises against the western wall of the building (a northern partition mud-brick wall was not preserved), and the podium, which blocked the entrance to the two central ones, was erected later.

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[33] In his *Final Report* the excavator interpreted the above-mentioned structure as "remains of a platform" with wooden framework, under which "a subterranean room" filled exclusively with pebbles and small stones "was excavated down to 1.5 m deep" (PETERS 1996, pp. 62-63). But the following description of unearthed remains makes it absolutely clear that we are dealing with remains of the podium and offerings dispersed around it, like those discovered in the Ḥaḍrān and *Kafas/Naᶜmān* temples (see below), and "a subterranean room" is the foundation of the podium. See especially the description of the objects found above and around the "remains of a platform": «... [there were found] stone mortars, fragments of stone offering tables with remains of animal offerings, zoomorphic legs made from flat limestone slabs (apparently, zoomorphic legs of above mentioned stone offering tables - *A.S.*), parts of square stone columns (apparently, fragments of big incense-burners - *A.S.*), stones with inscriptions, big amount of beads made from glass and stone..., and also melted glass substance» (PETERS 1996, p. 63).

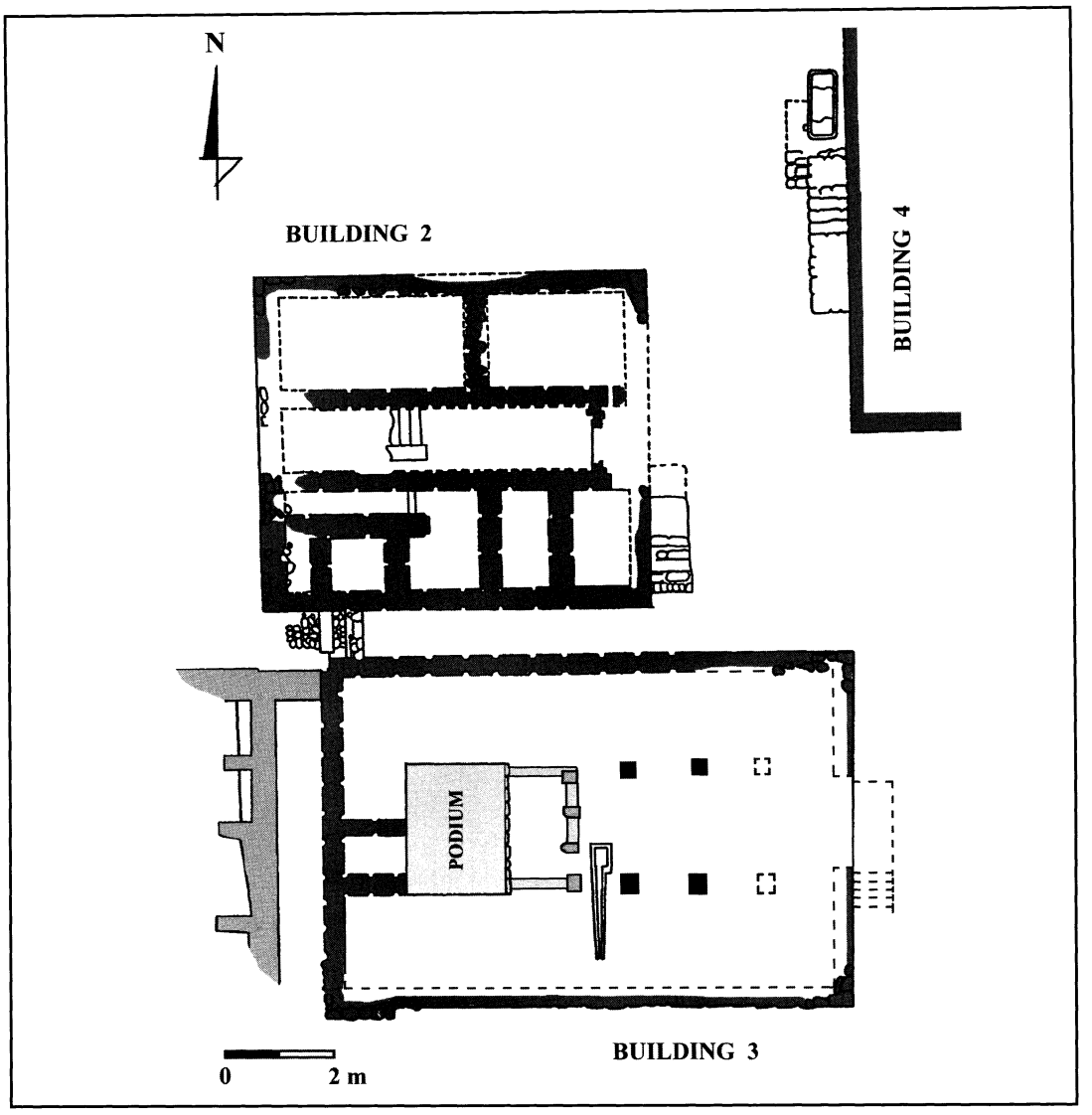

Figure 30. Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Raḥbān, Buildings 2 and 3, general plan (drawing by Ju. Kozhin and A. Sedov).

Several big storage jars with long votive inscriptions on the top of the rims were found in the north-west corner of one of the subsidiary rooms. Remains of offerings such as bronze bracelets, stone, glass and bone beads from necklaces, stone incense-burners and complete pottery vessels (see *fig. 16*:1-2) were scattered around the podium.

The mud-brick walls of the building with wooden framework were faced, both interior and exterior, with fine polished limestone slabs sometimes bearing long votive texts and short dedicative inscriptions like name of Dasmān (𐩴𐩣𐩵𐩲 = *Ds¹mn*), which was repeatedly engraved on several exterior limestone slabs of the northern wall. The interior slabs of the northern wall were also covered with remains of polychrome stucco painting[34].

[34] Peters 1996, p. 65; fig. 3; pl. LII.

Building 4 occupies the central position in the temple complex (see *pl. III*, 1). The preserved part of its stone platform or socle is about 3.0 m high. It measures 9.8 m along the east-west axis and 14.4 m along the north-south axis. A huge porch, 3.3x8.5 m size, with a four-column portico was built against its southern side. One prismatic column base was found *in situ* in the middle of the porch, and three other bases – in the debris not far from the platform. The monumental staircase, 5.0 m long and 4.0 m wide, leading towards the portico from the south was constructed of re-used limestone blocks taken from earlier buildings. The masonry of the staircase was not interlocked with that of the porch: there is a narrow gap, about 0.3 m, between them, filled with pebbles and broken mud-bricks. Another, L-shaped lateral staircase, 4.5 m long and 1.1 m wide, leading to the side entrance of the building was constructed against the western wall of the socle. A shallow stone basin was found north of the lateral staircase: most probably, it constituted the final part of drainage system destined to take out of the sanctuary the remains of liquid offerings.

On the upper surface of the platform only scant remains of a pavement and of some later masonry remain. No excavations were undertaken there because of the danger that walls of the platform would collapse, so the plan of the building once standing there is not quite clear. Apparently, it belonged to a type well known from other Raybūn temples, namely to the buildings with vast column hall, two symmetrical rooms on both sides of the main entrance, and the cubic-shaped podium erected under the open sky in the part of the hall opposite to the entrance. Fragments of numerous polished facing slabs once decorated the outer walls of the temple structure very often bore the name of ʾIlfaʿal (𐩱𐩣𐩺𐩲 = *ʾlfʿl*), apparently the name of the main donator to the temple or its priestess[35].

To the east of the central staircase of Building 4 there was a square paved with limestone slabs. Remains of some constructions like a partition wall of mud-bricks, a doorstep made from huge wooden beam, and remains of stone bases for pillars indicate that a pillared gallery once occupied the square. A staircase, 3.6 m long and 2.7 m wide, leading to the east, in the direction of the settlement, was, probably, the main entrance to the temple's complex.

To the south of this staircase, a stone socle of the other edifice forming the temple complex (*Building 7*) was erected (*pl. III*, 2). The socle is rectangular, 7.0x9.0 m in size and *c.* 1.5 m high, with a staircase, 1.6 m wide, leading towards the doorway in the middle of the northern wall of the building. The staircase was designed as a two-span construction with steps leading both to the east and west. The interior of the building was occupied by a hall, 5.6x7.6 m in size, with six pillars in its western part arranged in two rows (their prismatic-shaped stone bases still standing *in situ*), and benches constructed from mud-bricks along its western and northern walls (up to the doorway), 0.4 m high and 0.3 m wide. A rectangular podium, 1.5x2.0 m in size and 0.35-0.4 m high, adjoined the interior of the eastern wall of the building. It seems that the podium stood under the open sky: while the distance between stone bases in the rows (*intercolumnio*) was about 1.6 m, the space between the

[35] Cf. Frantsouzoff 1997, p. 123.

last row of pillars and eastern wall of the edifice was *c.* 3.0 m long. Quite a number of fragments of kitchen pottery and animal bones were found above the floor of the building.

The fourth edifice in the temple complex is *Building 2* situated to the north of Building 3, and separated from the latter by a narrow passage, 10.0 m long and 1.5 m wide, with floor paved with limestone slabs and wooden door blocked the western end of the passage (*pl. IV*, 2). This building had a rectangular socle, 9.25x10.0 m in size and 1.5 m high, constructed from rough shaped stones (*pl. IV*, 1). The entrance to it was set in the middle of its eastern wall, where a small narrow porch, 0.8x2.5 m in size, with one-span staircase leading to the south was constructed. The ground floor of the building is reminiscent of a typical dwelling house, quite common in ancient Ḥaḍramawt in general, and the settlements in the Raybūn oasis in particular. It obviously served for household purposes. The doorway, 0.7 m wide, connected a small vestibule and the porch outside. Another doorway, *c.* 0.8 m wide, led to the central corridor, 1.1x5.7 m in size, with paved floor. A staircase with three low steps made from limestone blocks was built roughly in the middle part of the corridor against its northern wall leading upstairs. Two rows of small rooms rectangular or square, sometimes arranged in pairs, were built on both sides of the central corridor, but they were not connected with the latter by doorways. It seems probable that like in other ancient Ḥaḍramawt dwellings access to these ground floor rooms was through special holes constructed in the ceilings, *i.e.* from the rooms upstairs. Apparently, such holes were supplied with wooden ladders.

The construction technique of the walls of Building 2 is typical for ancient Ḥaḍramawt: the building of its mud-brick walls was preceded by the erection of a timber framework or carcass on a stone socle. Vertical wooden pillars and crossbeams formed the framework, and space between bars was filled with mud-bricks and mud. The exterior and interior of such walls were usually faced with polished limestone slabs, plain or decorated, or they were covered with clay or cement plaster.

The paved square with pillared gallery along its eastern side left between Buildings 2, 3, 4 and 7 obviously served as a kind of inner courtyard for the temple complex. It consisted of two platforms, the upper and the lower ones. A round stone water reservoir, 0.75 m in diameter and 0.55 m high, and a large stone mortar, 0.45 m in diameter and 0.48 m high, were discovered on the upper platform against the western side of the socle of Building 4: the former in the corner formed by the side staircase and the socle, and the latter by the porch (see *pls. V*, 2; *VI*, 2). A stone drainage gutter was traced along the façade of the main staircase of Building 4 continuing further to the east as far as the beginning of another staircase leading to the lower platform in front of the entrance to Building 7 (see *pl. V*, 1). By the edge of the first elevation, rising about 1.0 m over the lower platform, the gutter has a spout shaped like a bull's head, projecting beyond the edge. Below it, in the corner formed by the north-western angle of the socle of Building 7 and the vertical walls of the upper platform of the inner courtyard strengthened here by stone masonry, directly under the spout there was a shallow stone basin in a form of what is very similar to the offering table, connected to a further section of gutter. Quite a large quantity of sheep and goat bones were found in the corner above the paved floor, stone basin and part of the gutter. The

gutter itself, about 0.2 m wide, was constructed of limestone blocks well adjusted to each other which followed the inclination of the pavements. It conducted rainwater and, probably, remains of the liquid offerings from the upper platform of the courtyard to the lower one and then towards the settlement, which, obviously, had a good drainage and sewage system.

A very characteristic feature of the Raḥbān temple complex should be pointed out: the orientation of its façade towards the south, in other words – not towards the settlement but in the opposite direction. So far, three accesses to the sacral area from the territory of the settlement have been found: (1) directly to the refectory (Building 7), (2) from the east through the staircase in front of the Building 7 to the gallery on the upper platform of the inner courtyard at the eastern side of the staircase of the main sanctuary (Building 4), and (3) from the west side through the wooden door to the narrow passage between Buildings 2 and 3. No doubt the second entrance served as the main access to the temple of Raḥbān.

Finds of numerous facing slabs of various types show that the edifices of the temple complex were splendidly decorated. Limestone slabs were used to face the exterior and interior walls of the buildings, the staircases, and to pave floors (see *pls. XXIX*, 2; *XXX*, 1). Many of them bore long and short engraved dedicative inscriptions. Unlike the temple of Mayfaᶜān, the ruins of Raḥbān temple yielded a small number of votive stelae-*muṣnad*. There are also some individual finds of considerable interest, and first of all – the so-called "minuscule" inscriptions on palm stalks, apparently the remains of the temple archive[36]. Numerous types of offering tables and incense-burners as well as a vast collection of pottery – several hundreds of large, medium-size and small vessels, many of them with dedicative inscriptions – were recovered during the excavations.

It seems that the earliest pottery from the temple complex are fragments of the so-called "Early Raybūn" painted vessels dated between 12th and 8th centuries BC (phases ER-I - ER-III)[37]. These and radiocarbon datings (sample GIN-4111: 3400±70 BP; sample GIN 4108: 2690±80 BP; see *Appendix II, Table 1*) set the foundation of the first sacral structures at this part of the site close to the earliest phase of Raybūn I occupation (see *Appendix II, Table 2*). Most probably, this is the date of construction of the socle of the Building 3 and an initial edifice on the top, which at that time stood isolated. Buildings 4 and 7 were constructed later, probably not before the 4th century BC, when considerable renovation works of the entire complex took place, although Building 2 was apparently built a few centuries earlier (sample GIN-4109: 2590±20 BP; see *Appendix II, Table 1*). Radiocarbon analyses of the charcoal samples from the wooden framework of the Building 4 ("main sanctuary") and Building 3 ("early sanctuary") give the time span for these activities between the 4th and 2nd centuries BC (sample Le-3438: 2320±50 BP; sample Le-3437: 2240±40 BP; sample Le-4301: 2210±160 BP; sample GIN-4113: 2310±30 BP; see *Appendix II, Table 1*). Raḥbān temple was destroyed by fire in the late 1st century

[36] See Bauer, Akopyan, Lundin 1990; Frantsouzoff, 1999a.
[37] Sedov 2003.

BC (sample Le-3100: 1960±50 BP; see *Appendix II, Table 1*) contemporary with the main settlement and other sites of the ancient Raybūn oasis, and later its ruins were used only as a source of building material for the inhabitants in the lower reaches of Wādī Dawᶜan.

RAYBŪN II SETTLEMENT

The Raybūn II settlement or *ᶜAdyat as-Sulṭān* is the second in size among the sites of the oasis. It is located 1.7 km to the south-east of the Raybūn I settlement on the same branch of the main southern canal. The site was not fortified either and measured 175(north-south)x200(west-east) m covering *c.* 3.5 ha (*fig. 31*).

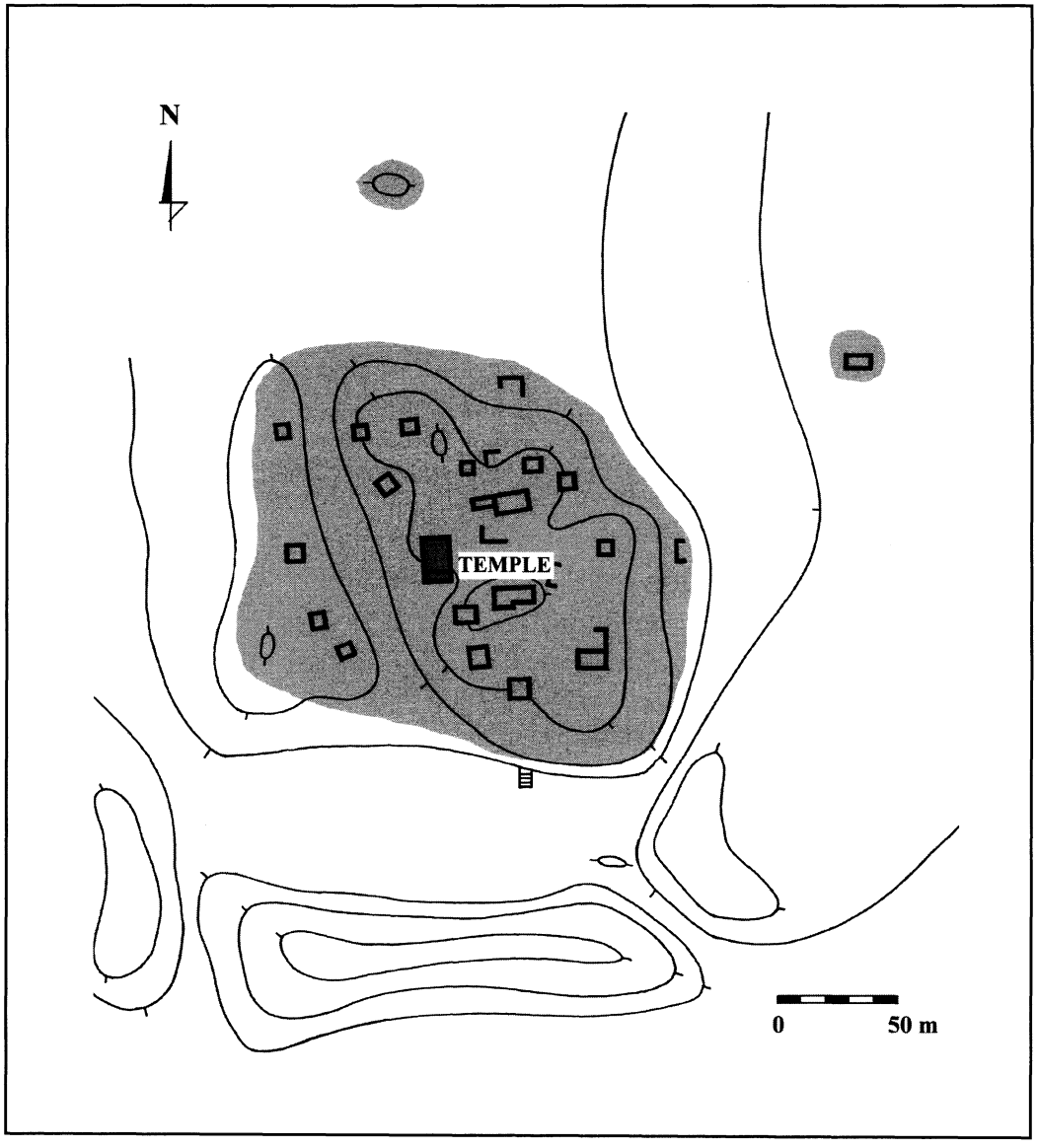

Figure 31. Raybūn II settlement, sketch plan (drawing by Ju. Kozhin and A. Sedov).

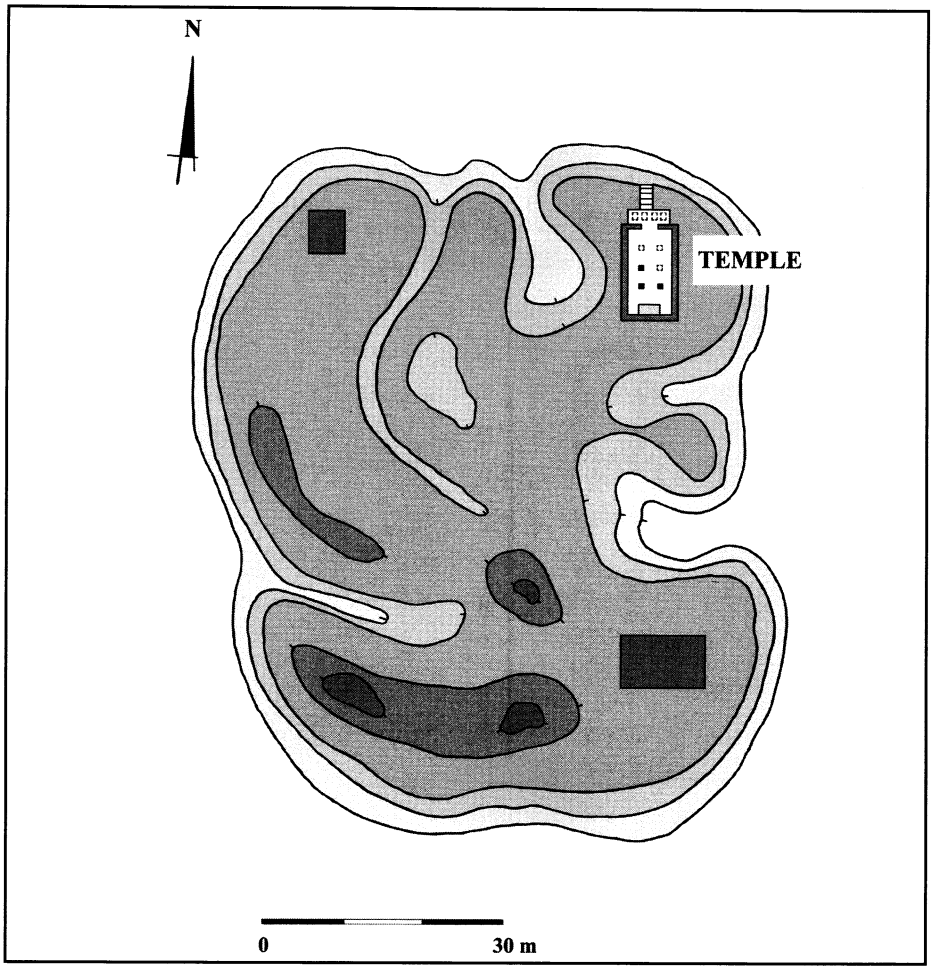

Figure 32. Raybūn III settlement, sketch plan (drawing by A. Sedov).

Intra muros *temple* - A large building constructed on a rectangle stone platform, 11.0x14.5 m in size, *c.* 1.2 m high, and orientated in a north-south direction, was the organising centre of the site. Unfortunately, it was completely destroyed, and only parts of stone architectural elements including prismatic shaped stone blocks, which appeared to be bases of pillars, were scattered above the platform. A stone staircase, *c.* 3.5 m wide leading to the top of the platform, was attached to its southern side. Based on the findings of fragments of facing slabs with parts of votive inscriptions found inside the ruins of the structure, the building can be identified as the main *intra muros* temple of the settlement.

RAYBŪN III SETTLEMENT

A group of several badly destroyed structures is situated in 500-600 m to the south of the Raybūn II settlement. The site is *c.* 100x100 m in size, and covers a bit more than 0.5 ha (*fig. 32*).

Intra muros *temple* - A building almost completely destroyed occupied the north-eastern corner of the settlement. It was constructed above the rectangular stone platform, *c.* 8.0x11.0 m in size, oriented along the north-south.

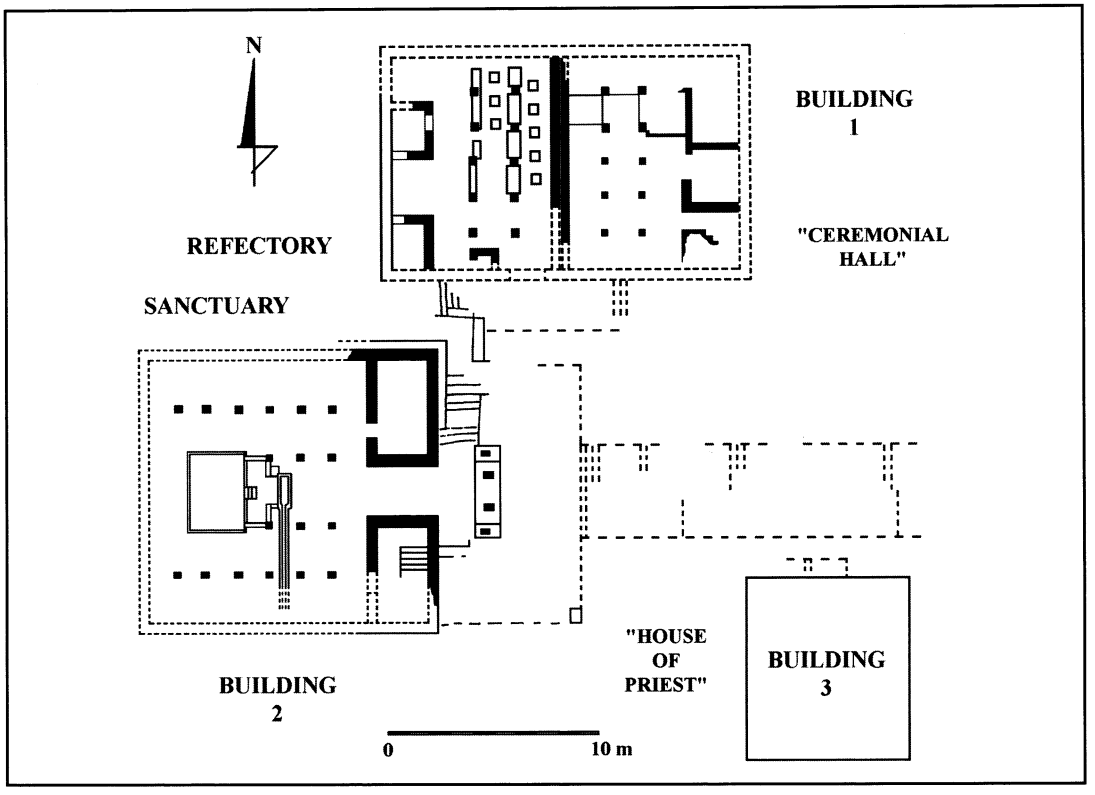

Figure 33. Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naᶜmān, sketch plan of the complex (drawing by Ju. Kozhin and A. Sedov).

A porch, *c.* 0.8x3.2 m in size, with the remains of four stone pillar bases once supported a roof of a portico was attached to the northern side of the platform. A staircase, *c.* 3.0 m wide, was constructed against its northern side. The entrance in the northern wall led to the hall, rectangular in layout and *c.* 7.0x10.0 m in size, where there are the remains of a podium built against the wall opposite to the entrance and two rows of six pillars dividing the hall into three naves. Three prismatic-shape stone bases, 0.3x0.4 m in size and 0.5 m high, preserved *in situ* in the south-western corner of the hall, and three more similar stone bases were found at the foot of the platform. Based on the fragments of votive inscriptions scattered around the foundation, this building can most probably be identified as a sanctuary.

TEMPLE OF DHĀT ḤIMYAM DHĀT-KAFAS/DHĀT-NAᶜMĀN (RAYBŪN V)

The second temple complex sacred to the goddess Dhāt Ḥimyam, evidently not smaller than the Raḥbān temple, lies 800 m south-west of Raybūn-I settlement, on the opposite side of the Wādī Mīḥ (*fig. 33*). It looks quite probable, that a small elevation on which the buildings of the temple complex were erected, had an artificial character and covered the ruins of an earlier structure, probably also sacral[38].

[38] Vinogradov Ju.A. 1989; 1991; 1994; Kozhin 2001.

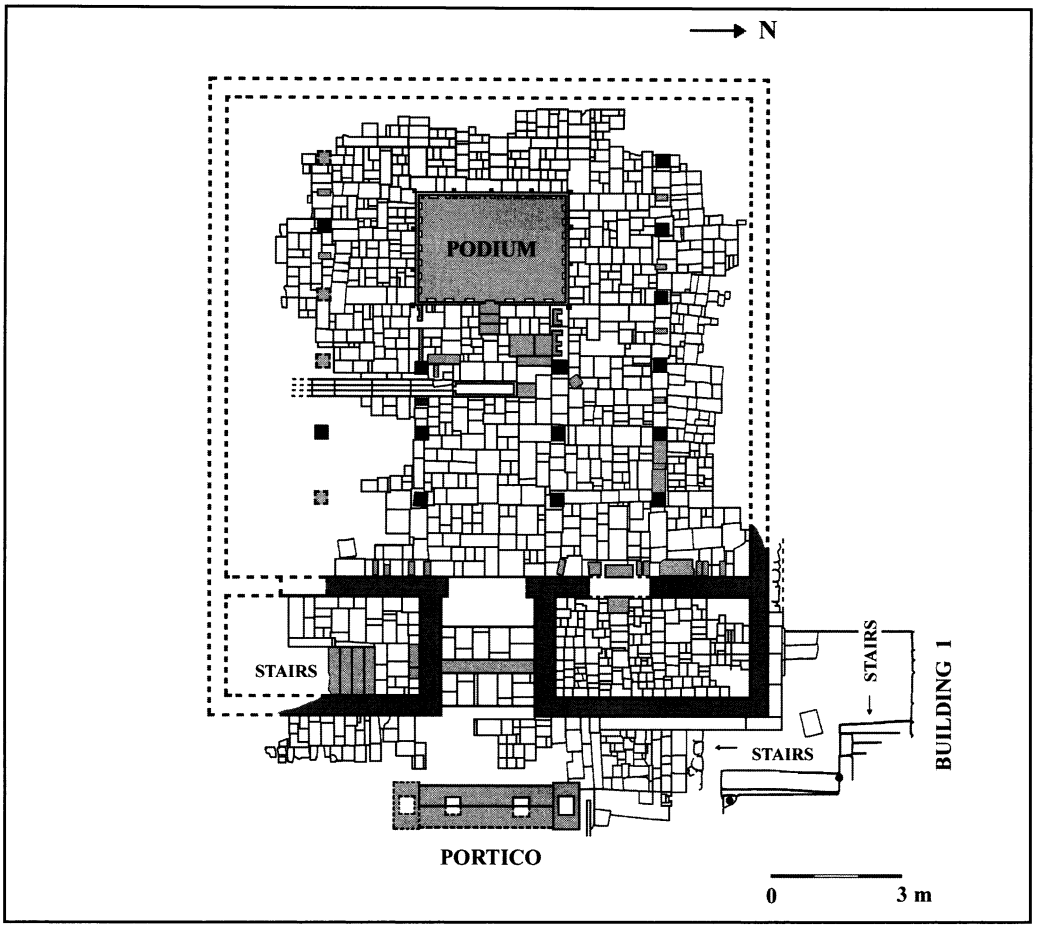

Figure 34. Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naʿmān, sanctuary (Building 2), general plan (drawing by Ju. Kozhin and A. Sedov).

The core of the complex was a structure, *Building 2*, constructed on a stone socle, rectangular in layout, 13.0x15.0 m in size and 1.5 m high, oriented in a east-west direction (*fig. 34*; see *pl. VII*, 1-2). A porch with a four-column portico adjoins the eastern side of the socle. Two prismatic-shaped monoliths were used as lateral pillar bases. They measure 0.60-0.65x0.95-1.05 m with the heights 0.65 m. Rectangular cavities, 0.25x0.45 m in size and 0.03 m deep to fix wooden pillars occupy their top surfaces. Two adjoining long rectangular blocks, 0.50x3.15 m in size and 0.25 m high, were used to fix the middle pillars of the portico (one block was found *in situ*, another one – in the heaps east of the porch). Both blocks had symmetrical cavities on the top surfaces; each had a half, 0.26x0.46 m in size and 0.03-0.04 m deep, to fix wooden pillars.

A very gentle ascent, *c.* 20 m long and 5 m wide, with parapets along its both sides runs to the structure from the east. Although it is not clear, it most probably ends with a staircase leading to the top of the porch. A second staircase, 3.3 m long and 1.7 m wide, leading on the porch was built along the part of the eastern side of the socle (see *pl. VIII*, 1). It had a high mud-brick partition or parapet, 0.4 m wide, along its eastern side.

An entrance to the building was located behind the pillars of the portico, and led to a vestibule, 2.2x3.4 m in size. There were two symmetrical rooms on both sides of the vestibule. The northern room (*Room 1*), 2.3x4.3 m in size, was used, probably, as a temple treasury. Some rather characteristic features testify strongly, in my opinion, about its function: an unusually high, *c.* 0.5 m, door-step at the entrance which could have meant it was difficult to get in to the room where the remains of temple inventory or offerings were kept such as great amounts of stone and glass beads from personal necklaces, fragments of gold leaf, stone incense-burners etc. The southern room (*Room 2*), 2.3x4.3 m in size, had a staircase leading to the upper floor or to the roof of the building (see *pl. X*, 2). Fragments of several big storage jars once stood on the upper floor or on the roof of the sanctuary were found in the filling above the floor of the room.

A hypostyle *hall*, 11.0x13.0 m in size, occupies the major part of the sanctuary. It was divided into five naves by 18 pillars arranged in four rows: two side rows had six pillars in each while middle rows – only three in each. Stone benches were constructed between pillar bases in the lateral naves (see *pl. XI*). The floor of the hypostyle hall as well as floors of the vestibule and both rooms were paved with fine-polished limestone slabs (see *pl. XXV*, 2). Stone bases were prismatic-shaped, 0.34-0.37x0.34-0.37 m in size and *c.* 0.5 m high; stone benches between bases had similar width and height, and were 1.3-1.4 m long.

A big cubic-shaped podium, 2.4x3.6 m in size and 1.3 m remaining height, was situated in the centre of the western part of the hypostyle hall (see *pl. VIII*, 2). It was constructed from a wooden framework filled with pebbles, clay and mud. Fine polished limestone slabs faced the podium exterior. A three-stepped staircase, leading to the top of the structure, was built against the eastern façade of the podium.

Low, *c.* 0.45 m high, vertically arranged stone blocks enclosed a space in front of the stairs and the eastern façade of the podium, measuring *c.* 2.5x3.5 m. A rectangular stone offering table, 0.35x1.35 m in size, with a rim and a long gutter running southwards was mounted in the floor in front of the podium, along the eastern side of the above mentioned enclosure (see *pls. IX*, 1; *X*, 1). The gutter, *c.* 3.4 m long, was used to drain the liquids from the offerings out of the sanctuary through a hole in its south wall. Two stone plaques with images of ibexes shown rather schematically in bas relief were found standing near the gutter in the south-eastern corner of the enclosure. A stone profiled pillar crowned by an incense-burner with a dedicative inscription on its sides was discovered in the north-eastern corner of the same enclosure (see *pls. IX*, 1; *XIII*, 1-3).

The podium was apparently covered by textile: burnt pieces of woollen fabric were found on the pavement in front of the podium and on the steps (see *pl. IX*, 2). Parts of the offerings were collected at the foot of the stairs: a bronze mirror, fragment of a leg from a bronze zoomorphic figurine, a golden pendant or an amulet with inlay made of blue glass, glass beads from necklaces etc. Two complete pottery vessels were also found on the spot: a bowl with a concave base and a goblet on a high pedestal (see *fig. 16*: 3-4). They were probably used for ritual ablutions. Both the shape and ornamentation of the vessels are absolutely identical to those found at the base of the podium in one of the sanctuaries (Building 3) of the Raḥbān temple (see above).

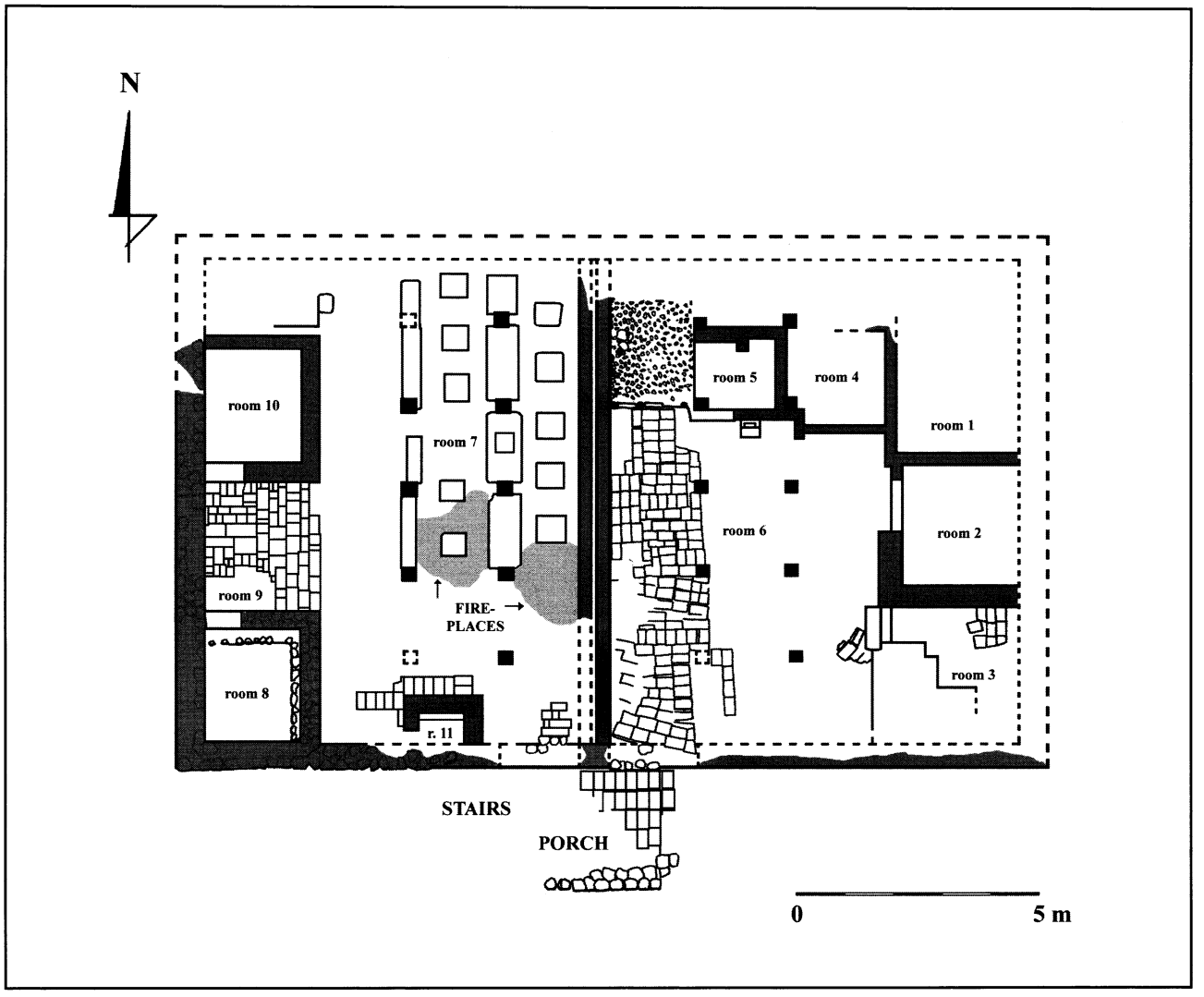

Figure 35. Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naʿmān, refectory (Building 1), general plan (drawing by Ju. Kozhin and A. Sedov).

The northern building of the temple complex, *Building 1*, was also erected on a stone socle, 11.1x18.3 m in size and 1.1 m high (*fig. 35*). Two adjacent hypostyle halls surrounded by small rooms occupy the upper surface of the socle. Apparently it was originally one unit: a vast hypostyle hall with three symmetrical rooms along its short sides, and 25 pillars once supported the roof of the building. The wooden pillars, rectangular in section, were lime-plastered. They were fixed on the stone prismatic-shaped bases, and were crowned by stone capitals in a shape of truncated upside down pyramid. The original entrance to the building was probably in the middle of its south wall, where a porch adjoining the socle, 2.3x3.0 m in size, is situated. A one-flight staircase, 4.5 m long and 1.3 m wide, leading to the top of the porch were constructed against its western side. Small square rooms were situated along the west and east sides of the hypostyle hall. One of the rooms (*Room 9*), situated against the central part of the western wall, was, probably, of considerable importance. It is almost

square in layout, 2.5x2.7 m in size, and wide open towards the hall. Its paved floor is 0.25 m high than in the hall, and on the doorstep was a beautifully engraved dedicative inscription mentioning the name of the goddess worshipped in the temple which was Dhāt Ḥimyam.

Later Building 2 was considerably reconstructed: two carelessly built adjacent thin mud-brick walls covered the central row of pillar bases and separated the hypostyle hall into two units. Separate entrances leading to each compartment were constructed from the south porch. Two new hypostyle halls measure 5.4x9.8 m (eastern hall) and 5.6x9.8 m (western hall). In addition to the rooms along the eastern and western sides of the halls, a few more compartments were built. In the eastern part of the building two adjacent rooms were constructed along its northern side (their walls covered the two north rows of pillar bases). A massive podium, 1.8x2.3 m in size and *c.* 1 m high, was erected in the south-west corner of the hall, next to the room 5. Fragments of two broken storage jars were found on the top and at the foot of the podium. Apparently, they were used to store water. The ruins of eastern hall, which roof was supported now only by six pillars arranged in two rows, revealed nice votive objects: a carefully made intact stone incense-burner (see *pl. XIV*), a bronze dagger (see *pl. XV*, 1), a spear-head (see *pl. XV*, 2) and a buckle.

Ten pillars supported now a roof of the western hall. Open fireplaces were discovered in the centre of the hall and next to its eastern wall. Square-shaped mud-brick seats, *c.* 0.35-0.4 m high, were found between pillar bases, while rectangular mud-brick benches of similar height and 0.6-0.8x1.2-1.4 m in size occupied space between pillars. The filling above the floor of the hall was full of pottery fragments, bits of animal bones, charcoal and ashes. Fragments of a large, heavy, burnt cooking pot were found in the central fireplace. It is interesting to note, that a heap of animal bones was discovered close to the entrance to the western hall, in a space between the south-west corner of the socle of Building 1 and the north-west corner of the socle of Building 2. It seems as though garbage from common meals in the western hall was regularly placed here[39]. A massive stone mortar, 0.30 m in diameter and 0.40 m high (see *pl. VI*, 1), was found on the porch in front of the entrance to the western hall, the southern part of which was partly occupied by a small square room (*Room 11*).

The ruins of a mud-brick building erected on a stone socle, *c.* 9x8 m in size and *c.* 1.5 m high, occupies the south-east corner of the religious complex (Building 3) (see *pl. XVIII*, 1). The remaining height of the mud-bricks above the socle is *c.* 1.0 m. It is possible to see the general directions of the walls of the first floor of the house. An entrance to the house was from the north where a porch adjoining the middle part of the socle is still preserved.

According to the microrelief of the area, some additional mud-brick structures were situated south and north-east of the main buildings of the complex, and between them. But neither their layout, nor their functions can be determined without digging. A huge monolithic rough dressed stele, *c.* 3.0 m high, was mounted on a small natural mound *c.* 50 m north-west of the complex (see *pl. XVIII*, 2), but its correlation with the sacral buildings is not clear.

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[39] Compare with similar heaps of bones found near refectories in the Mayfaᶜān and Raḥbān temples (see above and below).

A vast area of cultivated lands surrounded the temple complex in antiquity: a number of small mounds are scattered regularly around covering the remains of irrigation constructions such as sluices and water distributors. On one of the ancient fields situated south of the main buildings the remains of the palm-tree-lined route system can be seen in a slanting light (see *pl. XIX*, 1-2). The water to irrigate agricultural lands around the complex was fed through the channel starting further north from the bed of the Wādī Naᶜam[40].

Quite a number of stone profiled facing slabs and blocks using for façade decoration were found in the ruins of the sacral buildings. The intact facing of the low rows of exterior walls of Building 2 as well as constructional remains in the hypostyle halls provide good data for reconstructing the façades of the entire temple complex. A monolithic stone base with representation of an ibex (rather schematic) and a fragment of a stone monolithic portal (?) with a zigzag bas relief decoration were found on the southern outskirts of the complex (see *pl. XII*, 1-2).

The temple complex was dedicated to the goddess Dhāt Ḥimyam: her name was mentioned abundantly in the votive inscriptions found in the ruins. One of the slabs re-used for the floor pavement in the hypostyle hall in the Building 2 probably bore the original name of the temple which was Kafas (inscription Raybūn-Kafas/Naᶜmān 35: 𐩢𐩣𐩦 = *Kfsʾ*). The archaeological evidence dates the original structure of the area close to the middle of the 1st millennium BC (fragments of pottery of the "Middle Raybūn" period). Other votive inscriptions found during the course of the excavation with more "recent" style of the characters provide another name of the temple – Naᶜmān (𐩱𐩮𐩲 = *Nᶜmn*)[41]. It is quite possible, that the name of the sacral complex was changed, for instance, after considerable renovation or re-building, when the temple gained the appearance described. The radiocarbon analyses of the samples from the wooden framework of the walls constructions and wooden beams of the roof from both Buildings 1 and 2 gave the possible range for this renovation as the 4th - mid 3rd centuries BC (sample Le-3140: 2340±80 BP; sample Le-4658: 2280±50 BP; sample Le-4660: 2220±50 BP; sample 4659: 2210±60 BP; sample Le-4657: 2190±50 BP; see *Appendix II, Table 1*).

Like other structures in the Raybūn oasis, temple Kafas/Naᶜmān met its end by fire: plenty of burnt wooden constructions such as pillars, beams from the roof construction or from the wall framework were found on the floors of the buildings. This disaster must have taken place during the late decades of the 1st century BC. Later the ruins of the buildings were used as quarry by stone-looters.

TEMPLE RAYBŪN VI

The ruins of the structure identified as the *extra muros* temple are situated 700 m to the north-west of the Raybūn I settlement, at the edge of the Wādī Mīḥ (*fig. 36*; see *pl. XX*, 2). The ruins occupy a low natural mound roughly 35.0x35.0 m in size, the slopes of which are fixed by masonry of

[40] See Sedov 1995a.

[41] See Frantsouzoff 1995, p. 15.

rough dressed stones. The building was constructed on a T-shaped stone platform, *c.*1.5 m high. The platform measures 14 (north-south) x19 (east-west) m, and is 8.5 m wide in its western part and 10.0 m wide in its eastern part. The main entrance to the building was located at the north-western corner of the platform, where two-flights of an L-shaped staircase, *c.* 3.0 m wide, were constructed. Its lower flight is *c.* 8.5 m, and the upper flight is *c.* 10 m long.

The pillar gallery occupies the eastern part of the platform constructed along its eastern, southern and northern sides: six prismatic-shape limestone pillar bases, 0.26-0.28x0.28-0.31 m in size and 0.45-0.5 m high, are preserved *in situ.* The gallery surrounded a prismatic-shape podium, 2.5x3.0 m in size and a bit more than 0.5 m high, located almost exactly in the centre of the eastern part of the platform. A badly destroyed cella, 5.4x7.4 m in size, occupied its western part. Most probably, the cella was wide open to the east, where a threshold made from polished limestone block was found.

A rectangular room, *c.* 6.8x9.0 m in size, with a floor level *c.* 1.5 m lower than the top of the platform, was built against its western side. The external walls of the room are *c.* 0.6 m wide, and are preserved on the height of *c.* 0.4 m. Three prismatic-shape pillar bases, *c.* 0.3x0.3 m in size, arranged in a line were found in the centre of the room.

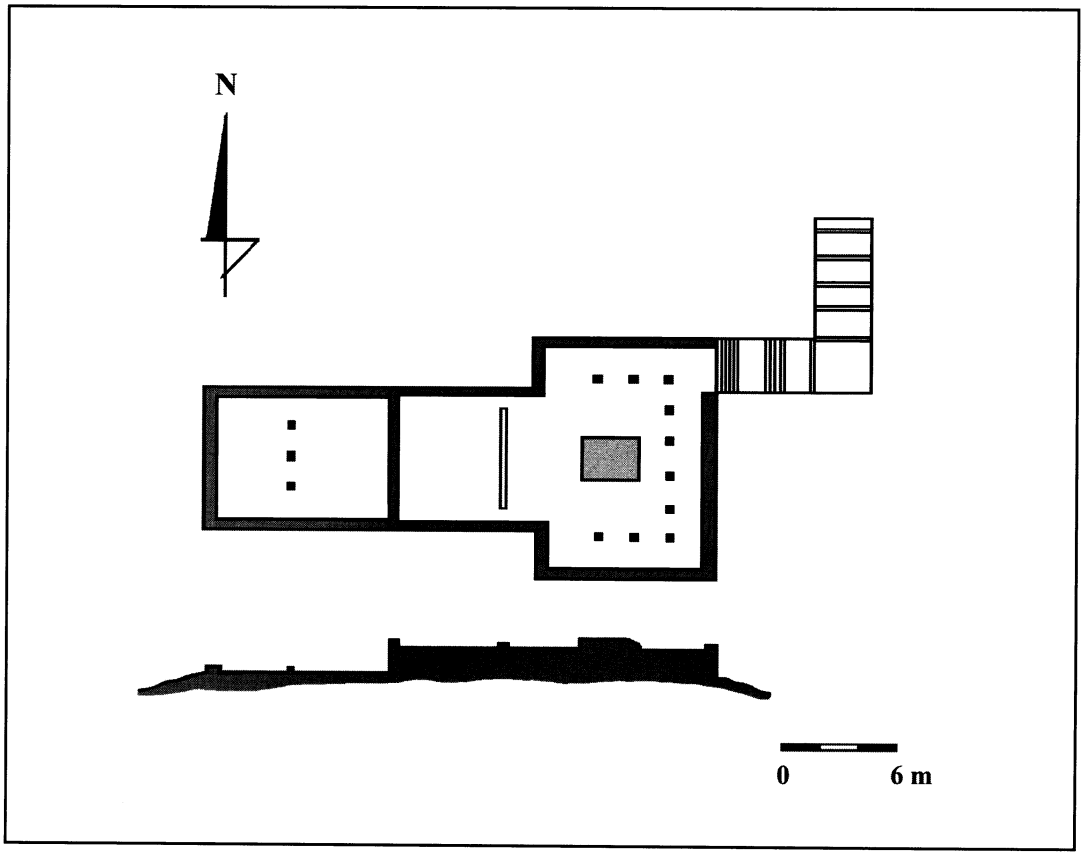

Figure 36. Raybūn VI temple, sketch plan (drawing by A. Sedov).

A very limited number of limestone facing slabs found in the ruins of the structure can be considered as evidence of a rather limited usage of mud-brick walls with wooden framework in the construction of the entire building: most probably, they were used predominately in the construction of the room to the west of the platform. In general, the temple can be reconstructed as the multi pillar gallery around the podium placed under the open sky with an additional cella and room behind it.

Many small fragments of badly preserved votive stelae and facing slabs with inscriptions were found scattered all over the building, especially in the ruins of the gallery. At least one fragment contained the name of the god Sayīn, to whom the temple was dedicated (inscription Rb VI/84, no. 5=SOYCE 834: *[.../hqny] Sʿyn/b-ʾlmqhw*)[42].

TEMPLE RAYBŪN XIII

The ruins of a small temple located amidst the ancient fields were discovered in *c.* 500 m to the north of the site Raybūn XI. Unfortunately, the building was so badly destroyed that it was not possible to determine even the general layout of the structure, which measured *c.* 5.0x7.0 m. A lot of fragments of limestone facing slabs show that the walls of the building were once constructed from the mud-bricks fixed in a wooden framework. Several incense burners, fragments of offering table with gutter and votive stelae and shards of big storage jars were discovered in the ruins confirming the identification of the structure as the sacral building. Two types of incense burners were found: (1) with square reservoir on the base in form of a truncated pyramid, and (2) with square or rectangular reservoir on four small legs. Many of them were decorated on the exterior with concentric circles with dots in the centre and/or with engraved vertical and horizontal lines. Traces of a votive inscription were preserved on the fragment of one of the incense–burners, the side of the reservoir of which measured 30 cm. It could be possibly deciphered as part of a proper name:]𐩣𐩱𐩲[= *...m/bn...*= «*...m*, a son of ...» (inscription SOYCE=Rb XIII/83, no. 1).

TEMPLE OF SAYĪN DHŪ-MAYFAᶜĀN (RAYBŪN XIV)

The ruins of one of the largest temple complexes of the ancient oasis were discovered about 1.5 km south of Raybūn I settlement, on the slope of the promontory formed by the junction of the Wādī Mīḥ and the Wādī Naᶜam (*fig. 37*; see *pl. XXI*, 1). Here, on a stone platform set about 10.0 m above the foot of the slope, the ruins of huge building with additional structures towered up (see *pl. XXI*, 2). Obviously, at one time they were a single unit with a number of small structures, the traces of which can be seen to the south of the platform, and with a cave necropolis around (*fig. 38*).

The votive inscriptions found in the ruins of the temple complex testify that it was dedicated to Sayīn, the "federal" deity of Ḥaḍramawt, and the name of the temple was Mayfaᶜān (𐩣𐩧𐩺𐩲 = *Myfᶜn*)[43]. Most probably the French Archaeological Mission first surveyed the ruins of the temple in 1979[44].

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[42] Bauer 1995, pp. 141-142.

[43] Bauer 1989.

[44] Breton 1980a; see also Sedov 1994.

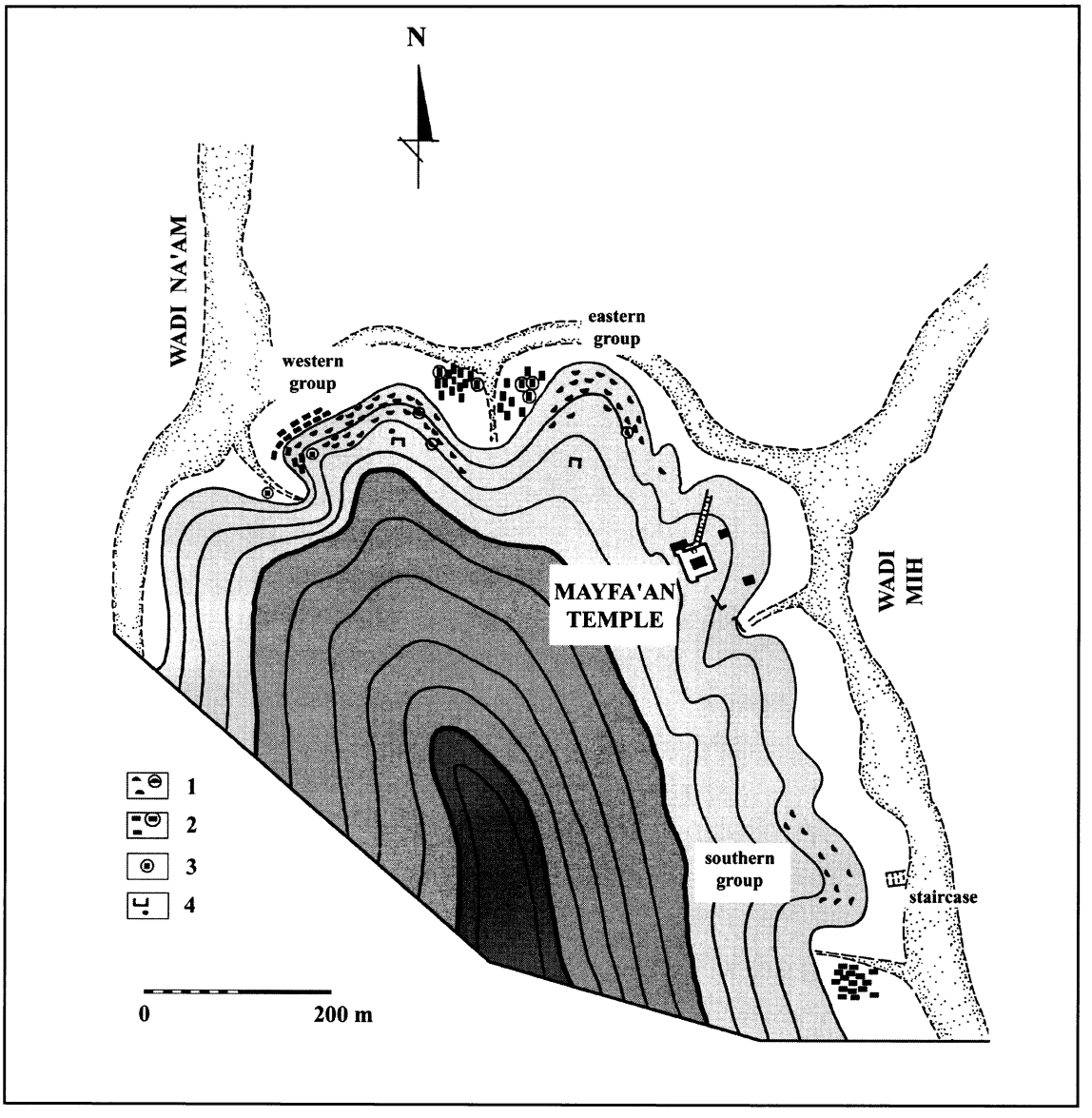

Figure 37. Complex Raybūn XIV-Raybūn XV, sketch plan (drawing by A. Sedov).
1 - cave tombs; 2 - camel burials; 3 - surface crypts; 4 - stone platforms.

The monumental platform on the wadi's slope measuring 32.0x32.0 m and 8.5 m high was constructed of rough shaped stones (*fig. 39*). Elaborately polished white limestone slabs lined its façade and, probably, its sides. Wide stepped niches or "false windows" also recessed the façade. One more niche, probably for a human votive statue was constructed in the lateral northern side of the platform, not far from the propylon. It was 2.5 m wide, 0.8 m deep, and, probably, about 3.0 m high. A dedicative inscription was engraved at the base of the niche: «ᶜAlāhumaw, *qayn* of Raybūn, son of ...» (Rb XIV/90 no. 253=SOYCE 2568: [...] = *ᶜlhmw/qyn/Rybn/bn[...]*; see also *Appendix III*, no. 13). Most probably, the inscription indicates the name and the title of a person who donated a statue once stood in the niche (see *pl. XXVII*, 2).

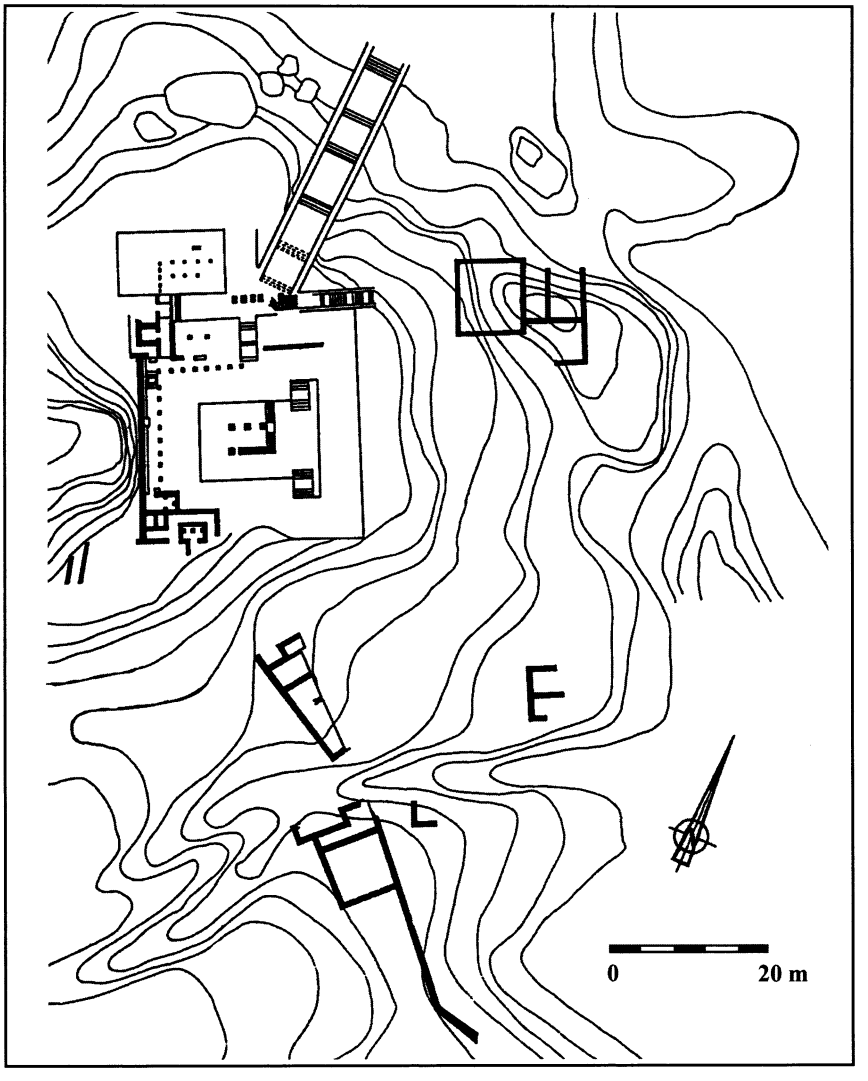

Figure 38. Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaʿān (Raybūn XIV), sketch plan of the complex (drawing by A. Sedov).

The radiocarbon samples from the burnt wooden framework of the niche gave the dates for its construction as 2040±60 BP (sample Le-4693) and 2030±55 BP (sample Le-4697) (see *Appendix II, Table 1*).

A staircase, about 42.0 m long, leads towards the monumental platform starting from the foot of the slope. It is 4.5 m wide with steps *c.* 0.25 m high and 0.35 m wide. A parapet of rectangular stone blocks was constructed along its sides. Another lateral staircase, more than 14.0 m long and about 2.0 m wide, was discovered running along the northern side of the monumental platform (see *pl. XXVII*, 1). It starts from a large mud-brick edifice standing at the foot of the slope. Many of its steps bore complete and fragmented dedicative inscriptions. This niche for the statue with engraved inscription Rb XIV/90 no. 253=SOYCE 2568 is situated in the upper part of the lateral staircase. Both staircases ended in a four-column propylon: the basis of its pillars in form of huge rectangular stone blocks are still preserved *in situ* (see *pl. XXIII*, 1).

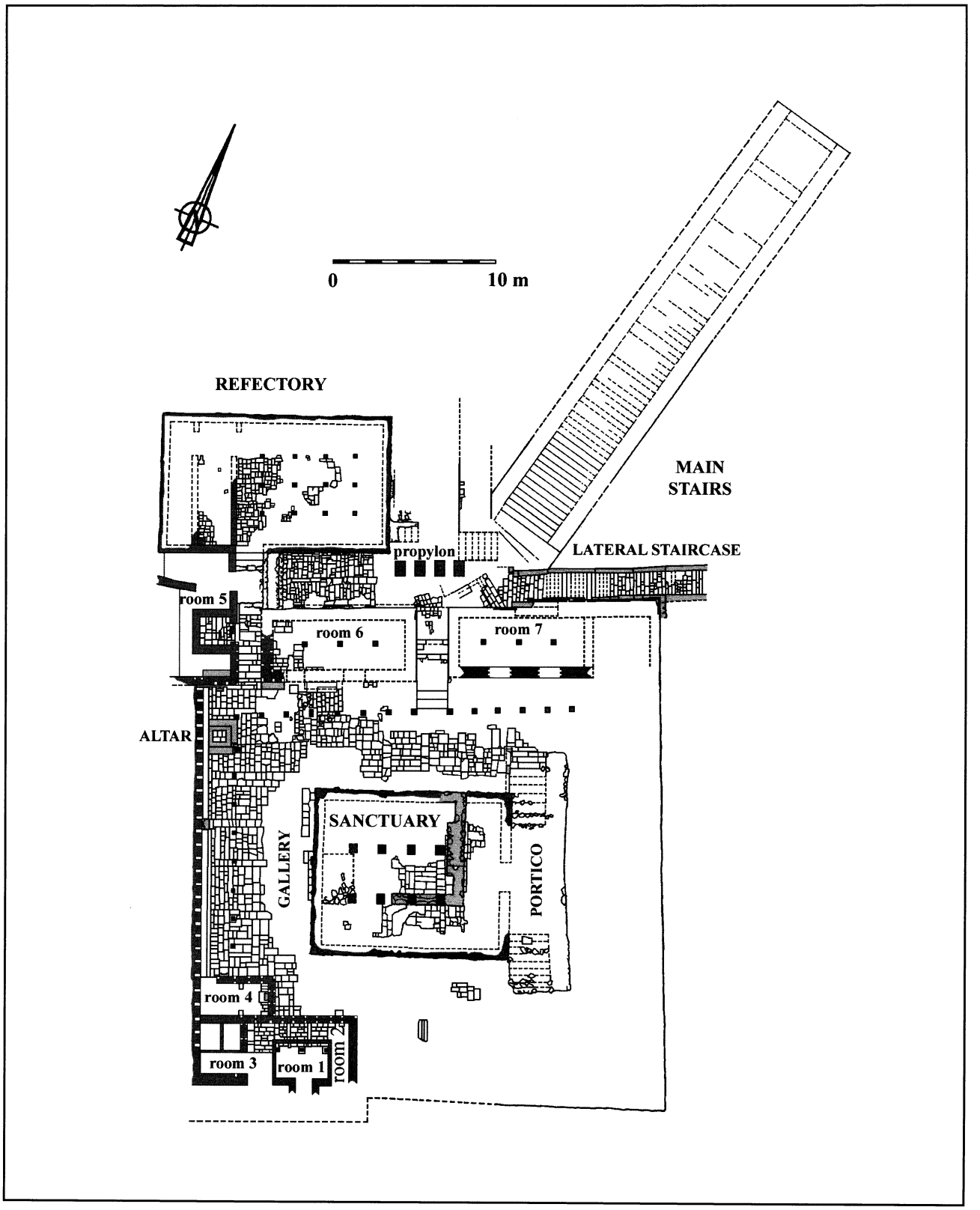

Figure 39. Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān, general plan (drawing by Ju. Kozhin and A. Sedov).

The axis of the main staircase is set at a 45° angle with the axis of the propylon. The stone bases measure 0.6x0.95 m, their height is *c.* 0.5 m. The eastern block has been moved from its place and turned upside-down. Each block has a rectangular cavity on the topside, 0.25-0.28x0.34-0.37 m in size and 0.03-0.04 m deep, for fixation of the wooden shafts of the columns. Their remains consisted of burnt wooden fragments covering with lime plaster, 0.14x0.36 m in section, were found nearby (see *pl. XXVI*, 2).

A narrow passage, about 2.0 m wide and 6.0 m long, leads from the propylon to the upper surface of the monumental platform (see *pl. XXIII*, 2). It consisted of two landings divided and ended by two stepped stairs. A stone socle, 10.7x16.5 m in size and 2.7-3.1 m high, was built in the centre of the monumental platform. Its exterior was faced with fine polished limestone slabs. The socle served as the foundation for the sanctuary (*Building 1*) the walls of which were most probably constructed in mud-bricks supported by a wooden framework (see *pl. XXII*, 1). Two single-flight stairs constructed against the eastern side of the socle (see *pl. XXVI*, 1), opening to the north and to the south, led towards a porch with a four-column portico once erected in front of the entrance to the building (only one stone block used as a base for portico's pillar preserved *in situ*).

The sanctuary itself was, unfortunately, almost completely ruined. Its remains show that the core of the building was a hypostyle *hall* with six (?) pillars arranged in two rows, which divided the hall into three naves. A podium, 2.0x3.5 m in size, was built against the middle part of the western wall opposite to the entrance. Four huge stone blocks served as bases for pillars, and the remains of a magnificent stone pavement of the hall were preserved. It seems that the eastern part of the building was occupied by two symmetrical rooms lying behind four-column portico on both sides of the doorway.

Fine polished limestone slabs paved the surface of the monumental platform around the socle. A stone block with a gutter was found mounted into the pavement south of the building. It's very tempting to consider it as remains of a drainage system to remove remnants of ritual libations or bloody sacrifices from the sanctuary[45].

Building 1 was surrounded by a pillared *gallery*, the remains of which were uncovered along the western, northern and, probably, southern sides of the platform (see *pl. XXV*, 1). It is uncertain whether there was the gallery constructed along the eastern side of the platform, although there are some evidence to consider such a possibility. Long stone benches, obviously used as seats during religious ceremonies, were set along the western, northern and southern walls of the gallery. The name Qatham (𐩲𐩣𐩺 = *Qṯm*) repeatedly engraved on the side of a long bench belonged, probably, to the donor at whose expenses this part of the temple was built (or re-built?) (see *pl. XXVIII*, 1-2). A multi-line inscription containing the same name was engraved also on the slabs facing wall in the north-western corner of the gallery (see *pl. XXIX*, 1) (see *Appendix III*, nos. 1, 17, 18).

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[45] A complete construction of such kind was discovered in the *intra muros* temple partly excavated by the author at Hajar Yahirr in Wādī Markha in 1996 (mission of the Ṣanᶜāᵓ Branch of DAI under the leadership of Dr. Saᶜad Ayūb). Internal parts of similar constructions were unearthed in temples Kafas/Naᶜmān and Raḥbān (Building 3) at Raybūn oasis (see above and below).

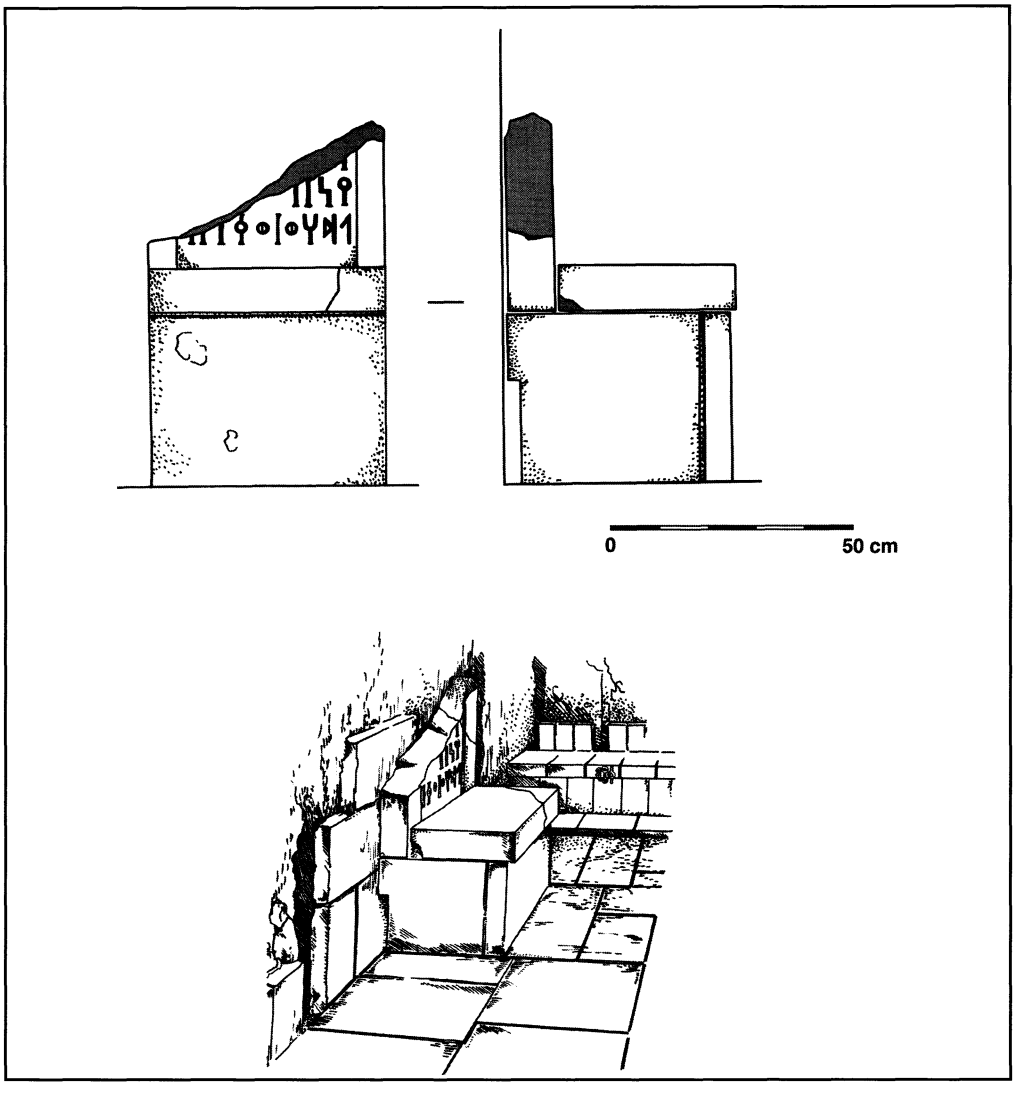

Figure 40. Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaʿān, pedestal for votive stele (drawing by L. Tugarin and A. Sedov).

Lower parts of three votive stelae-musnad were found in the western part of the gallery fixing in special pedestals (*fig. 40*; see *pl. XXXII*, 1). It looks like rectangular slabs with carving representing animal's foot found sometimes in the ruins of temples belonged to the same kind of pedestals (see *fig. 4*:1-3; *pl. XXXII*, 2)[46].

A large rectangular stone altar for burning incense, 1.8x2.2 m in size and 0.46 m high, was constructed in the north-western corner of the gallery (*figs. 41-42*; see *pl. XXIV*, 1-2). Its lateral walls have special holes for letting smoke out. A large quantity of ashes and fragments of a nearly complete ceramic vessel with traces of fire – obviously used for burning incense – were found inside the altar.

[46] Previously some of them were identified as "tables votives" (cf. Breton 1979, p. 194, pls. VIIIa, IX).

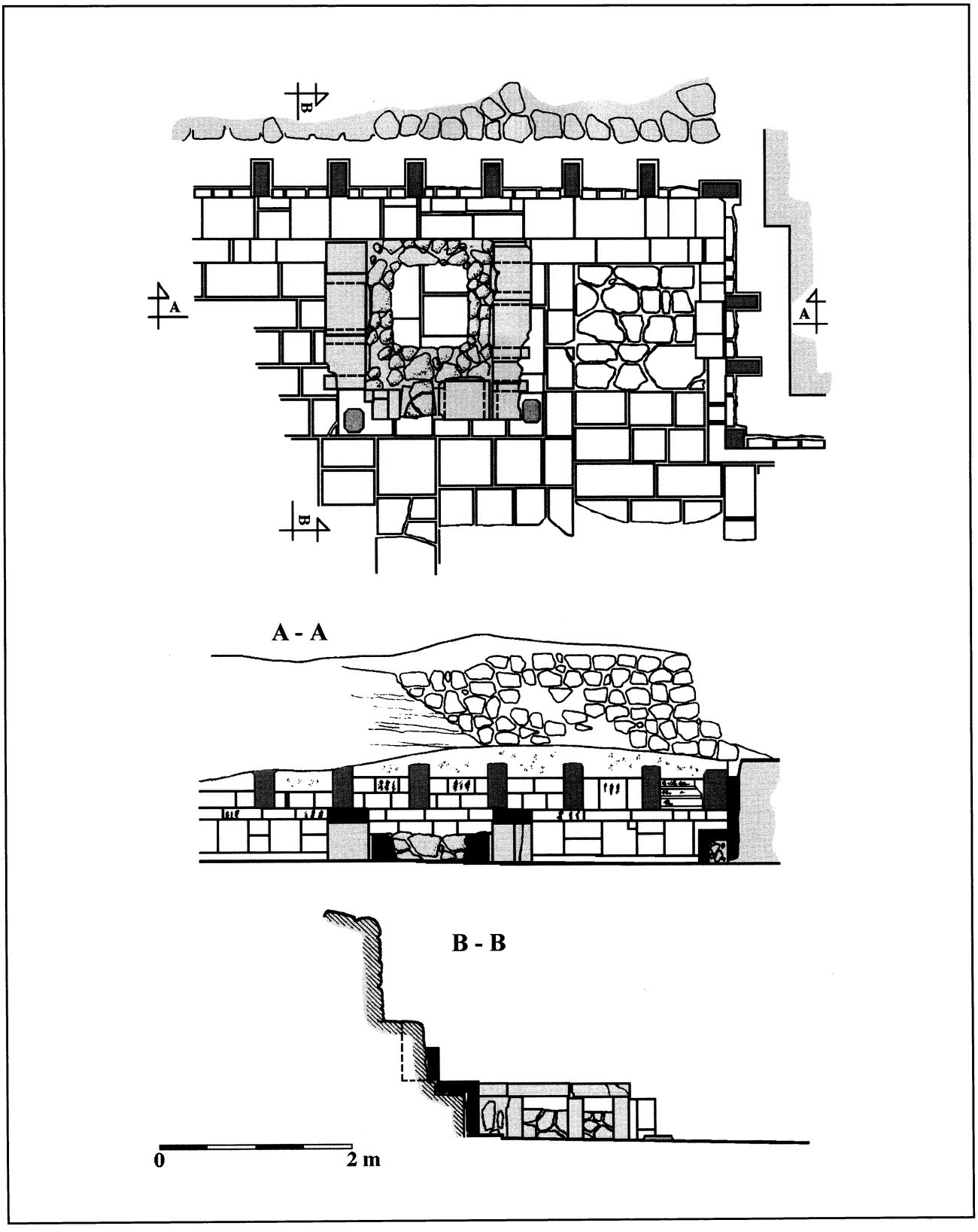

Figure 41. Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān, altar in the gallery (drawing by L. Tugarin and A. Sedov).

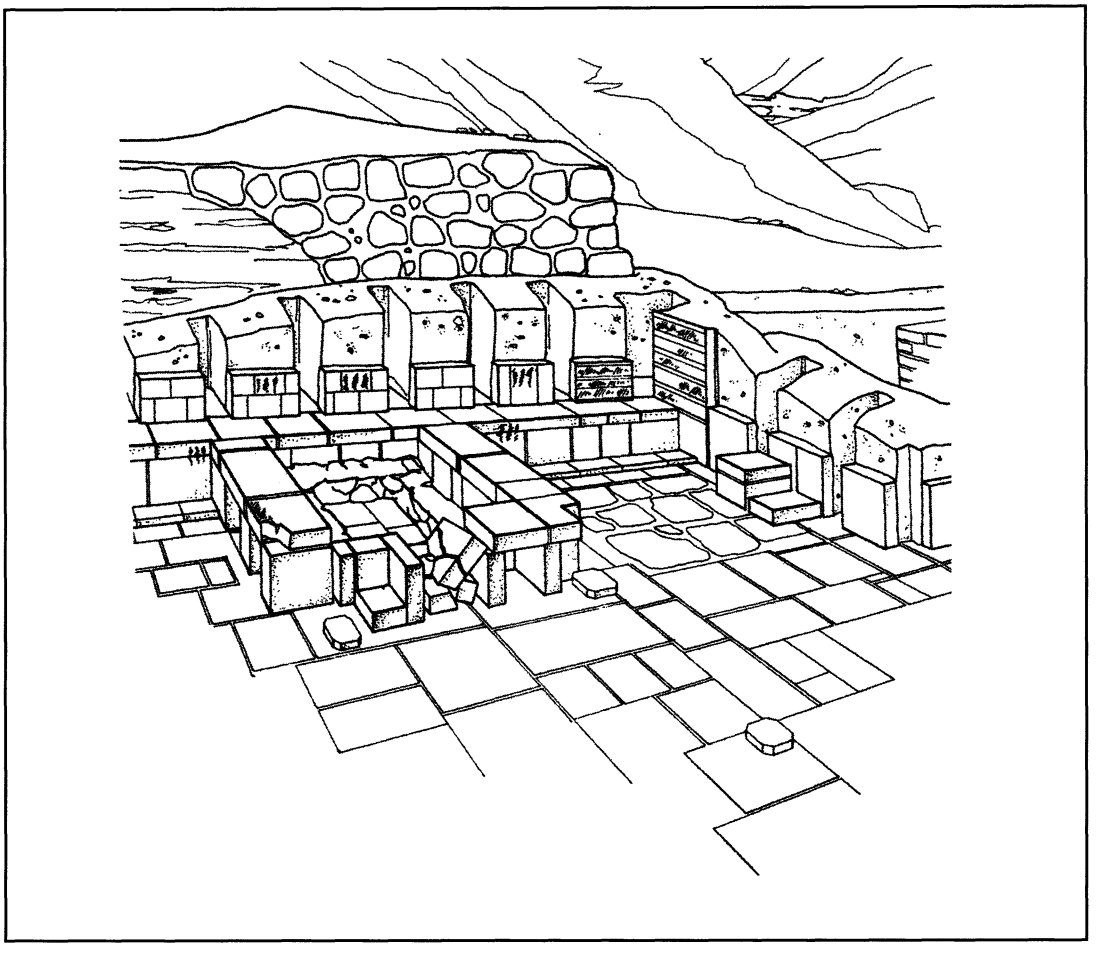

Figure 42. Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaʿān, altar in the gallery (drawing by L. Tugarin).

A complex of subsidiary rooms occupied the south-western corner of the monumental platform. One of these premises (*Room 1*), 2.3x3.1 m in size, had an entrance 1.0 m wide opening towards the edge of the platform. Most probably, a secondary staircase running up to the monumental platform from the structures situated at foot of the slope was constructed here. Room 1 was surrounded by a corridor (*Room 2*) with walls faced with polished limestone slabs with engraved dedications to the god Sayīn. Room 2 was 1.2-1.6 m wide, its northern part was 6.1 m long, and its eastern and western parts were 3.5 m long. An entrance, 1.2 m wide, led from the western part of the corridor to the next room (*Room 3*), 2.6x3.1 m in size. Two adjacent, basin-like structures carefully plastered with stucco, 1.1x1.7 m in size and 0.5 m deep, occupied its northern part. It seems probable that they were used as baths for ritual ablutions although some storage functions cannot be excluded for such constructions. A passage situated, most probably, in the eastern part of the corridor connected all three above-mentioned rooms with the gallery around the sanctuary.

The western gallery at its southern corner was connected through the entrance 1.0 m wide with a rectangular room (*Room 4*), 2.0x4.2 m in size. A large secondary-use offering table was mounted vertically in the middle of its eastern wall (see *pl. XXXI*).

A kind of small podium for offerings such as incense-burner or votive figurines was constructed inside the room against this large stone block in the eastern wall. Pieces of incense were trampled into the clay floor of the room.

A small rectangular room, 1.6x2.1 m in size (*Room 5*) occupied the north-western corner of the platform. Its floor, paved with re-used slabs, is 0.33 m higher than the level of the pavement in the gallery. Two rectangular cavities made in the floor were intended obviously for drainage of some liquid, probably for the blood of sacrificed animals or for libations.

Remains of two comparatively large rooms were traced on both sides of the passage leading towards the Building 1 from the propylon. The western one (*Room 6*) was approximately 3.0x8.1 m in size. Three wooden pillars supporting the ceiling of the room were placed in a row along the main axis: two stone bases and traces of the third one were found on the floor of the room. Most probably, the eastern room (*Room 7*) was similar in size and layout.

There is a socle of another building (*Building 2*), measuring 8.5x15.0 m, to the west of the monumental platform (see *pl. XXII*, 2). Its eastern edge raised up from the paved terrace with propylon's pillars on the height of about 1.5 m. One of the entrances to the building, 1.1 m wide, was discovered in its southern wall while another one was constructed, probably, in the centre of the eastern wall where few remains of stairs have been found. Both entrances led into a vast hypostyle hall with twelve pillars inside (seven stone bases of the pillars with remains of stone benches erected between them were found *in situ*). The pillars were arranged in three rows, four in each row, and they divided the hall into four naves. The floor was paved with fine-polished limestone slabs (many of them bearing dedicative inscriptions have been re-used). The hypostyle hall occupied the eastern part of the building, and there were probably two long adjoining rooms in its western part. In the corner of one of them a square stone pedestal or podium was found.

To the west of the propylon, between the socle of Building 2 and the northern side of the monumental platform, a wide passage was left, ending in a stepped ascent towards the southern entrance of the Building 2 (to the north) and towards the gallery surrounding the Building 1 (to the south). Another passage, 1.1 m wide, led to the west, towards some structures behind room 5 and Building 2. Deposits unearthed in this part of the complex were full of ashes, animal bones and pottery fragments, and constitute, probably, the garbage left from ritual meals and thrown away from the Building 2.

As stated above, at the foot of the slope beyond the limits of the terrace where two excavated buildings were situated, ruins of some other mud-brick and stone constructions were discovered. One group of these buildings stands to the south of the monumental platform. There are stone walls running parallel to the slope of the wadi with several rectangular adjoining rooms built against them. About 25.0 m towards the east, ruins of an isolated building was discovered. Another building with mud-brick walls erected on a stone socle stands separately at the foothill to the south of the propylon. The size of its stone socle is *c.* 10x11 m, and the remains of the mud-brick walls are *c.* 2 m high. It lies exactly by the foundation of the lateral staircase.

During the excavations, especially when clearing the ruins at the foot of the monumental platform as well as on the lateral staircase several hundreds votive stelae, inscriptions on facing slabs,

pedestals for votive statues and figurines, fragments of pottery vessels with engraved dedications, pieces of stone incense-burners, personal ornaments and amulets were found. The pottery recovered from the excavations testifies that the period of the active life of the temple of Mayfaᶜān coincides with that of the Raybūn I settlement. Diagnostic fragments of painted vessels and red slipped carinated bowls dated between 12th-8th and 7th-5th centuries BC accordingly are strong testimony to the date of construction of the temple complex and the first period of its existence ("Early Raybūn" period, phases ER-I - ER-III)[47]. It seems that in the late 3rd - early 2nd centuries BC an essential reconstruction of the temple's gallery was accomplished. Samples of the burnt beams from the wooden framework of the western gallery's wall provided the following radiocarbon dates: 2190±40 BP (sample Le-3442), 2170±60 BC (sample Le-3441) (see *Appendix II, Table 1*). Two more samples from the gallery's wooden framework with almost identical radiocarbon dates were collected in the debris at the foot of the monumental platform: 2180±50 BP (sample Le-3112), 2180±140 BP (sample Le-4311) (see *Appendix II, Table 1*). It is very tempting to connect this building activities with a donation by a certain Qatham, whose name was engraved on the stone bench in the gallery around the Building 1 (see above).

Pottery assemblage associated with the last period of the Mayfaᶜān existence, before its destruction, corresponds well with the ceramic complex of the "Late Raybūn" period (phase LR-II) dated close to the 2nd-1st centuries BC (see *Appendix II, Table 2*)[48]. The radiocarbon dates of the temple's destruction (samples Le-3975: 1730±90 BP; Le-4312: 1960±170 BP; Le-4313: 2040±170 BP; see *Appendix II, Table 1*) confirms such a general dating.

It must be pointed out that in the last phase of its active life, the hypostyle hall of Building 1 was divided into two parts. A rectangular room, 5.6x8.1 m in size, with two niches, 0.4x1.0-1.15 m in size, in its eastern wall was built in the north-western corner of the building. The remaining space was occupied by an angular room, which served as an antechamber leading to the room with niches. It is not clear to which period such reconstruction must be dated. There are at least two possibilities: (1) it was the last phase of the Mayfaᶜān existence or (2) the changes were made in already neglected complex.

TEMPLE RAYBŪN XIX

The ruins of the structure identified as one more temple probably dedicated to Sayīn were discovered on the eastern slope of the Wadi Dawᶜan, on the outskirts of the modern village of al-Mashhad (Mashhad ᶜAlī), to the east-north-east of the Raybūn I settlement (see *pl. XL*, 1). A modern house was built on the ruins, thus very little preserved from the ancient structure. The temple was constructed on

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[47] See Sedov, 2003.

[48] It must be pointed out that pottery vessels belonged to the temple inventory may be used for a long period. The "long-life" vessels were, undoubtedly, storage jars intended to store provision and water as well as vessels using in religious ceremonies. For instance, a complete amphora-like vessel was found in the ruins of the room 4, which was in function till the collapse of the temple. According to our studies, such kind of vessels are diagnostic for phases MR-I and MR-II ("Middle Raybūn" period) dated from 7th to 5th centuries BC. Thus, we can suppose that particular this vessel was in use in Mayfaᶜān during at least four centuries.

a massive stone platform, *c.* 30.0x40.0 m in size and *c.* 4.0 m high. A staircase, the remains of which can be seen against the western side of the platform, led to its top where a stone socle, 8.0x11.0 m in size, of what supposed to be a sanctuary was situated. The above mentioned modern house was constructed exactly on the socle making it impossible to determine its original height.

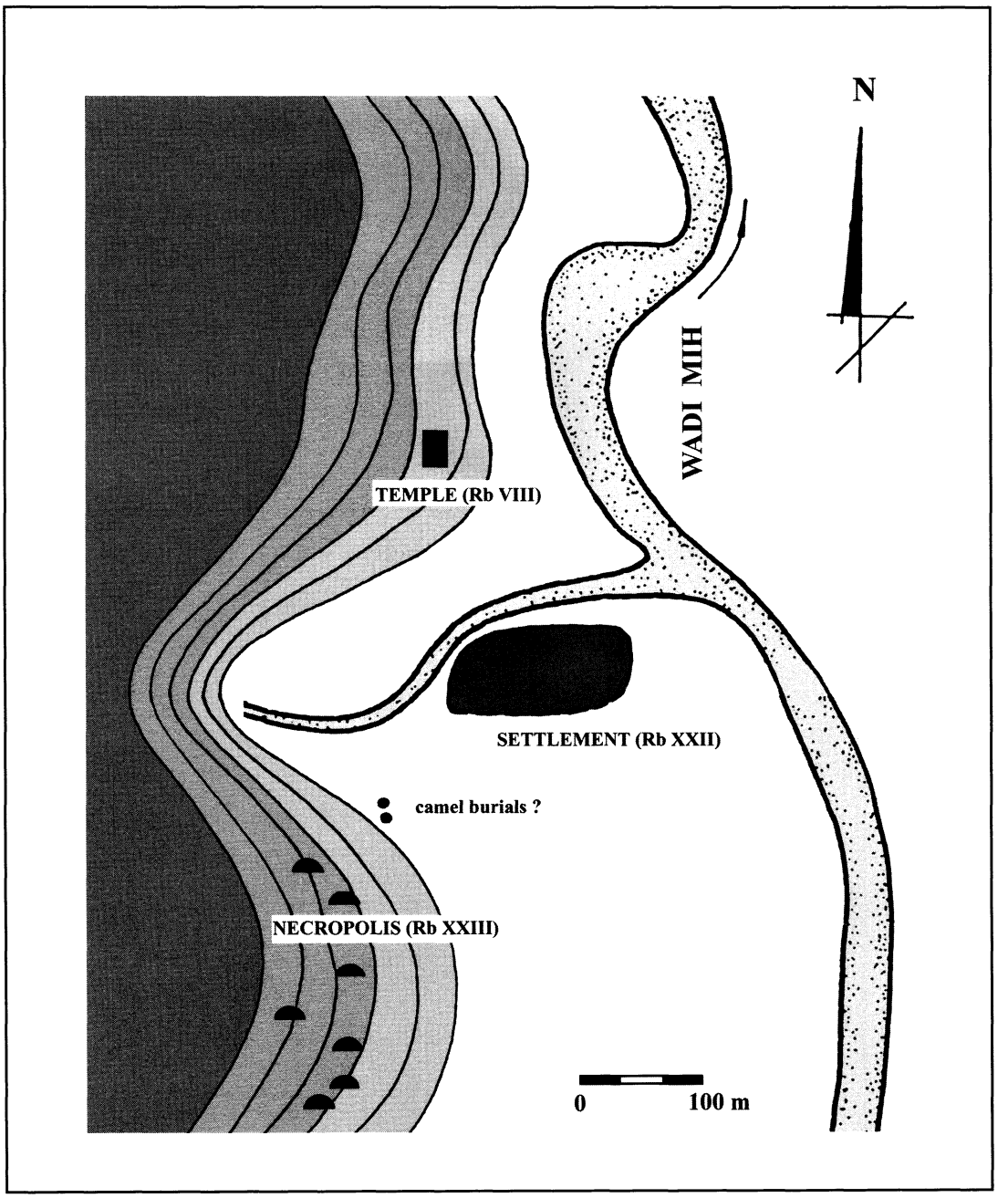

Figure 43. Complex in the Wādī Miḥ (drawing by A. Sedov).

Fragments of votive inscriptions, probably originating from the ruins of the temple were discovered mounted into the pavement and walls of the modern house. Unfortunately, their state of preservation is very poor and does not enable any variant of the reading to be hazarded. Several other dedications to the god Sayīn were previously published as coming from the water tank and mosque at al-Mashhad (Mashhad ᶜAlī) village[49]. It seems very likely that at least part of them is also originated from the ruins of discovered temple.

COMPLEX IN THE WĀDĪ MĪḤ

The complex consisting of a settlement (Raybūn XXII), a cave-necropolis (Raybūn XXIII) and an *extra muros* temple (Raybūn VIII) is located in the mouth of Wādī Mīh, on its western slope (*fig. 43*).

Extra muros *temple (Raybūn VIII)* - The ruins of the temple were discovered in *c.* 150 m to the north of the ancient settlement (*fig. 44*). A massive stone platform, *c.* 20.0x25.0 m in size and maximum height of about 6.0 m (at the eastern side), was built on the wadi slope (see *pl. XXXIX*, 1-2). A single-flight staircase, *c.* 5.0 m wide, led to the top of the platform from a small square, *c.* 5.0x10.0 m in size, situated at the foot of the slope. Ruins of two buildings occupied the top surface of the platform. The southern one, most probably a sanctuary, was constructed on a stone socle, *c.* 6.5x13.0 m in size and *c.* 2.0 m high.

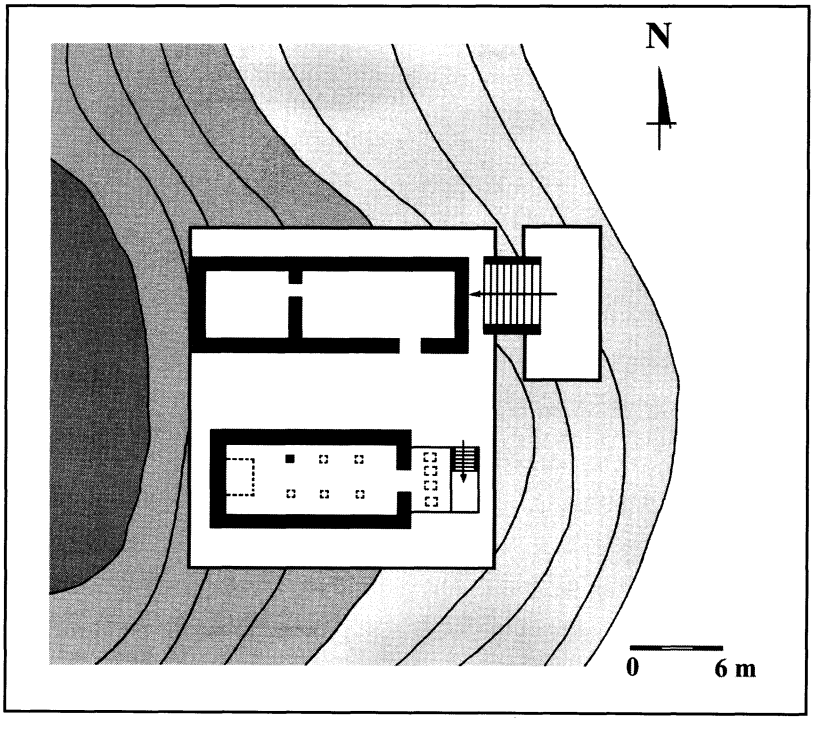

Figure 44. Raybūn VIII temple, sketch plan with elements of reconstruction (drawing by A. Sedov).

[49] LANKESTER HARDING 1964, p. 29; WISSMANN 1968, pp. 41-43.

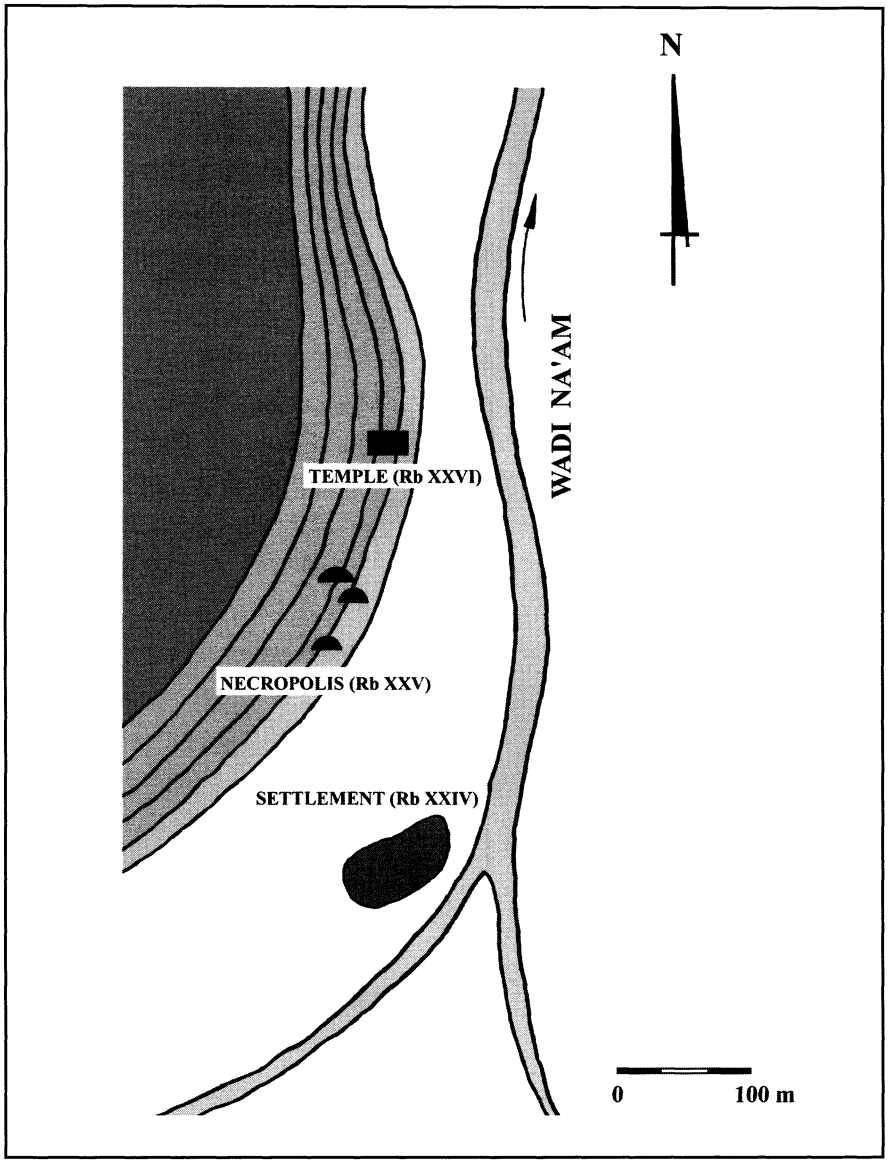

Figure 45. Complex in the Wādī Naᶜam (drawing by A. Sedov).

The entrance to the building, designed as four-column portico, was from the east: a single-flight staircase, *c.* 2.0 m wide, running north-south led to a kind of porch with remains of four stone bases intended, probably, for wooden pillars. The interior of the building was divided into three naves by two rows of pillars (the base of one is preserved *in situ* close to the northern wall of the room). Remains of a podium are traced against the central part of the western wall opposite to the entrance. Many fragments of limestone facing slabs and stelae with parts of votive inscriptions were found scattered in the ruins of the building.

The northern part of the platform was occupied with the ruins of another building, probably a refectory, *c.* 6.0x18.0 m in size. It consisted of two adjoining rooms, rectangular in layout. The entrance to the building was located next to its south-eastern corner.

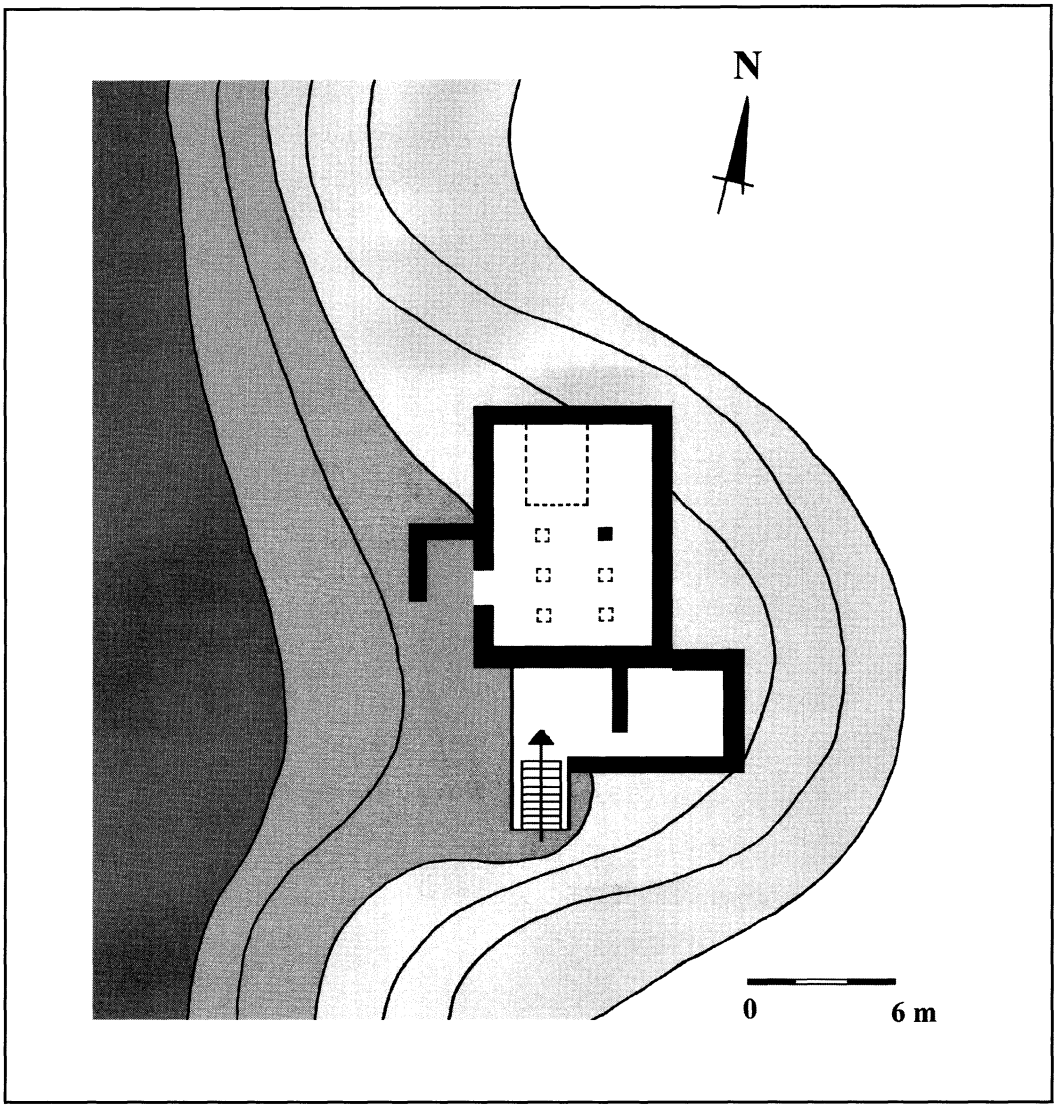

Figure 46. Raybūn XXVI temple, sketch plan with elements of reconstruction (drawing by A. Sedov).

Judging by the content of the preserved inscriptions, the temple was dedicated to Sayīn, the "federal" god of the Ḥaḍramawt pantheon (pers. com. of the late G.M. Bauer).

COMPLEX IN THE WĀDĪ NAᶜAM

The complex consisting of a settlement (Raybūn XXIV), a cave-necropolis (Raybūn XXV), an *extra muros* temple (Raybūn XXVI) and remains of ancient irrigation constructions is located in the mouth of Wādī Naᶜam, in 600 m to the west of the temple Kafas/Naᶜmān (Raybūn V) (*fig. 45*).

Extra muros *temple (Raybūn XXVI)* - The temple was built about 10-12 m from the foot of the wadi slope, where ruins of a rectangular building, *c.* 8.0x10.5 m in size, are only just preserved

(*fig. 46*). A hall divided into three naves by two rows of pillars (one of the stone pillar bases preserved *in situ* in its north-eastern part) constituted the interior of the building. The remains of a rectangular podium, *c.* 2.5x3.5 m in size and 0.2 m high, are traced against the northern wall of the hall. The entrance to the building, 1.5 m wide, was located close to the south-western corner of the building. A small fenced square was constructed outside the building in front of the entrance. A horizontal square with a single-flight staircase leading to its south-western corner from the foot of the wadi's slope was constructed against the southern wall of the building, adjacent to its south-eastern corner. A room, 4.0x5.5 m in size, with a narrow entrance in its south-western corner, occupies the eastern part of the square.

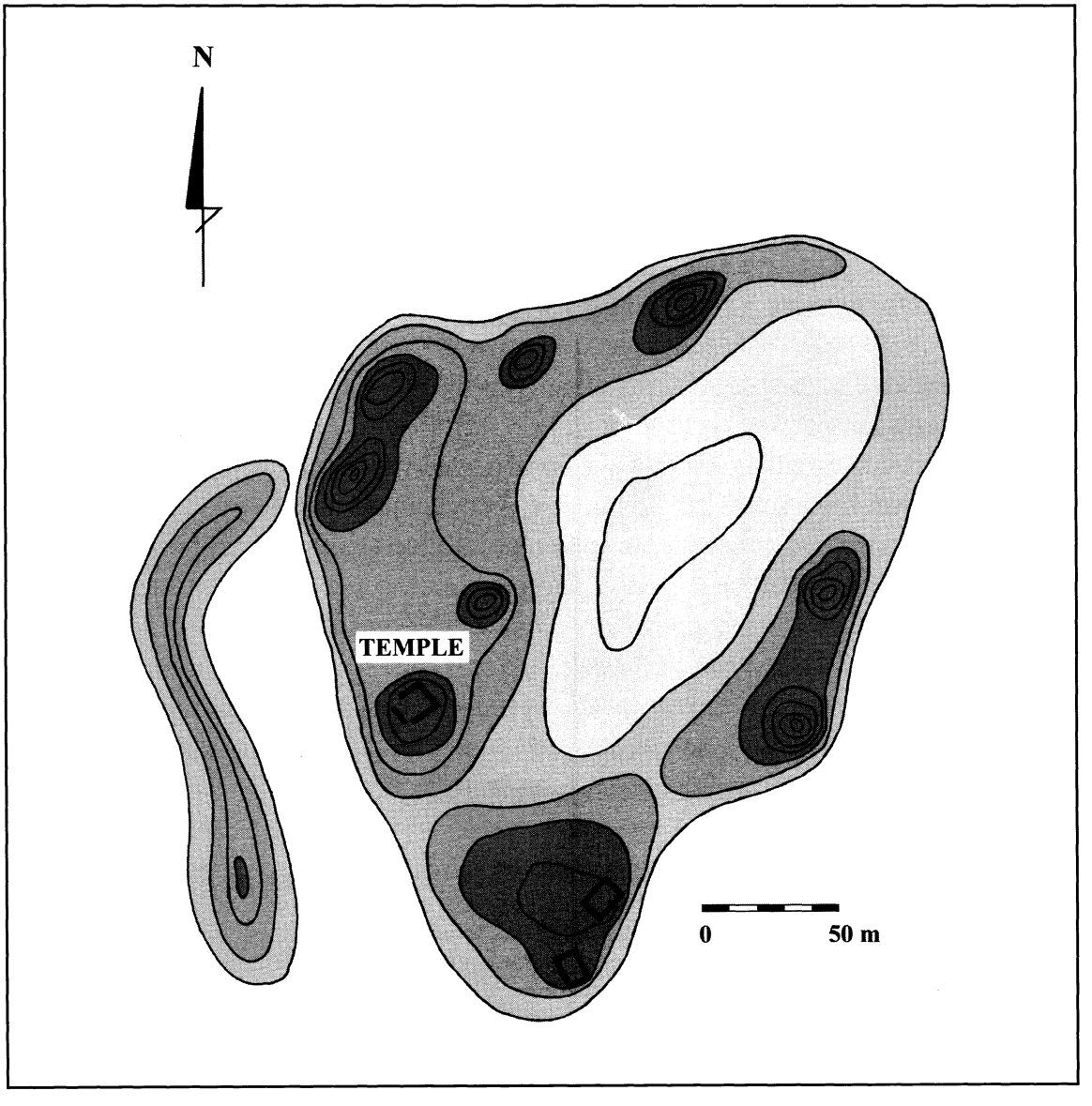

Figure 47. Settlement near al-Ḥurayḍa (ancient Madhābum), sketch plan (drawing by A. Tonikjan and A. Sedov).

5. ḤURAYḌA

A structure identifying as a temple of Sayīn worshipped under the name of Madhābum was excavated at the site situated in the lower reaches of Wādī ᶜAmd, not far away from the modern town of al-Ḥurayḍa[50]. The settlement, which was also named in antiquity as Madhābum, was the centre of a large agricultural oasis which flourished in this part of Wādī ᶜAmd during the 1st millennium BC.

Temple of Sayīn dhū-Madhābum - The temple structure occupied a prominent position on an artificial (?) elevation in the middle of the south-western side of the settlement, and dominated the ancient town (*fig. 47*). Like the Raḥbān temple at the Raybūn I settlement in the neighbouring Wādī Dawᶜan, its façade was oriented towards the wadi, to the south-west, and not towards the houses of the ancient town. We can assume that, like in other settlements in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, the temple Sayīn dhū-Madhābum was a vast religious complex, which is presented by an isolated sanctuary by chance only[51].

The building with mud-brick walls faced by fine polished limestone slabs was erected on a stone socle, 9.8x12.5 m in size and 3.86 m high (*fig. 48*). A porch, 4.6x6.5 m in size, adjoins the south-western side of the socle. Two single-flight staircases with parapets led to the top of the porch. The south staircase is *c.* 4 m long and 1.8-3.0 m wide, the south-west staircase is *c.* 4.5 long and 1.1 m wide. A stone offering table with long gutter was mounted on the south-west staircase. It seems the porch was once occupied by a four-column portico: a stone construction made of stone blocks (0.6x4.2 m in size) used as the bases for the pillars was discovered in the central part of the porch.

A corridor with an original width of 1.6 m (in the last phase of the temple's existence it was narrowed to 1.2 m) and 2.8 m long led from the portico to a hypostyle hall of the sanctuary. Probably, two small symmetrical rooms, *c.* 1.5x2.3 m in size, were built on both sides of the corridor (in both cases only low parts of mud-brick walls constituting south-west and south-east corners of the rooms were still preserved). Six pillars arranged in two rows once supported a roof of the building and divided the hall into three naves (five prismatic-shaped bases remain *in situ*). It seems that a podium was constructed in the north-east part of the hall, in front of the wall opposite the entrance.

Unfortunately, very few pieces of its construction remain, but an offering table with a bull-shaped spout bearing votive inscription on its sides (inscription CT 7) marked the possible place of the podium: it was mounted on the floor presumably in front of it.

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[50] Caton Thompson 1944, pp. 19-60; on the publication of the inscriptions found in its ruins cf. chapter *Epigraphy* written by G. Ryckmans in the same volume (Ryckmans 1944).

[51] Caton Thompson determined three phases of the temple existence: phase A (the earliest), phase B (intermediate) and phase C (the latest). Constructively the phases differ only because of the design of the façade of the building. But from the description published by the British scholar, it is evident that she spokes mostly about the sequence of construction of different parts of the sanctuary erected during a short period but one after another. We can assume that the construction of the porch, which was built right up close to the stone socle and was not connected with it by common masonry, follows mostly the construction technique of the ancient builders, and not on the time span between "phases". Such an attribution doesn't exclude the possibility, that remains of different reconstruction and renovations of the building traced in the course of the excavation especially in its south-western part belonged to different periods (cf. Caton Thompson 1944, pp. 19-60).

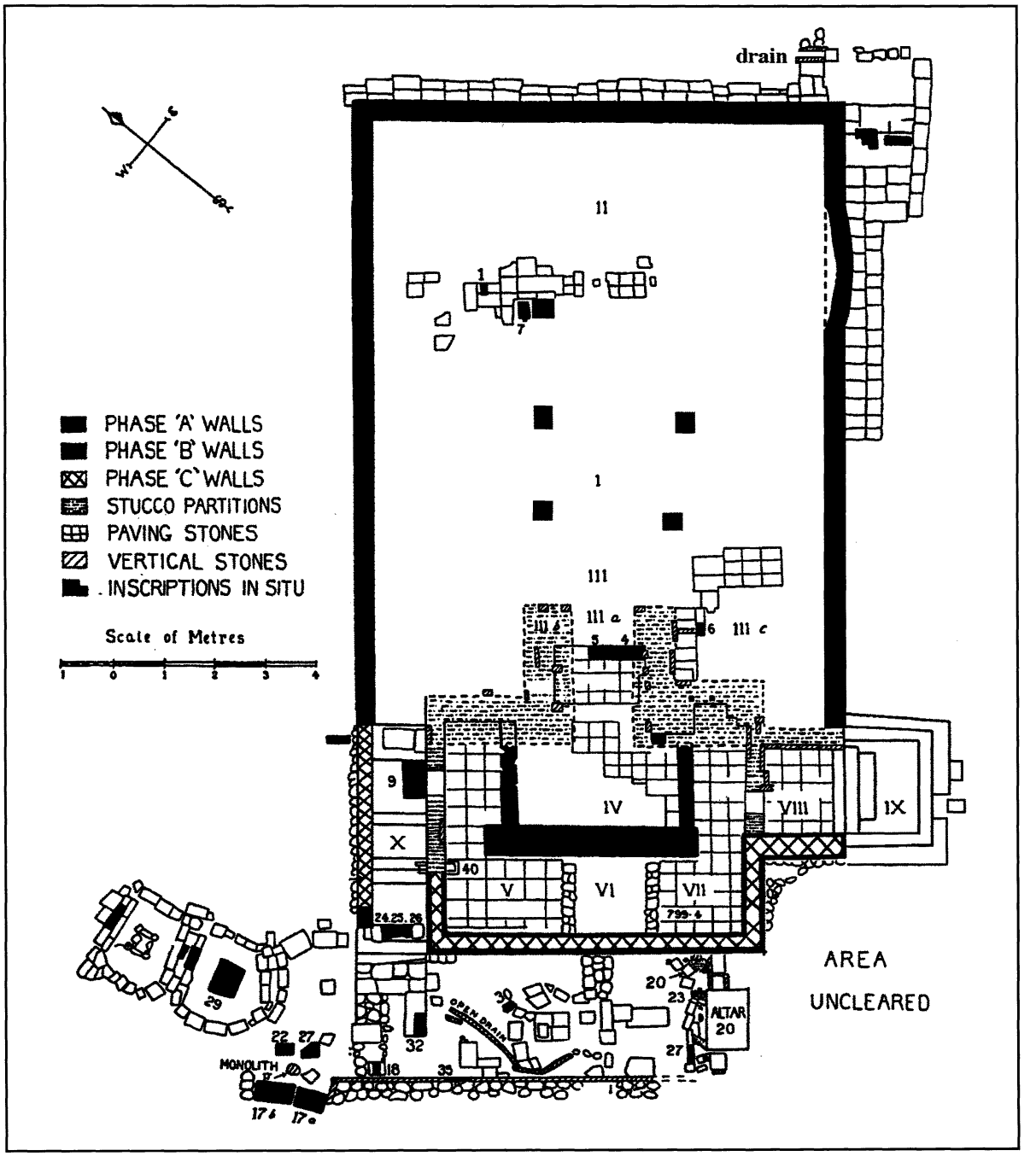

Figure 48. Temple Sayīn dhū-Madhābum, general plan (after Caton Thompson 1944, pl. LXXIV).

A wall, *c.* 7.5 m long, built from rough dressed stones was found 2.5 m to the south-west of the building. It runs parallel to the short side of the socle of the building and probably reinforced a slope of the mound where the temple of Madhābum was erected. At the same time it could serve as a border marking the sacral territory. In the space between the wall and the porch of the building numerous constructions denoted as "shrines" and "votive groups" were discovered (*fig. 49*).

The most significant of those structures were "apsidal shrines", which looked like irregular pits with edges faced by limestone blocks and slabs. They measured 1.9-2.1x2.1 m, and were *c.* 0.3 m deep. One of these "apsidal shrines" had a step built of a limestone block, and a kind of an "altar" consisted of a stone prismatic-shaped base and a limestone slab, 0.5-0.7x0.6-0.8 m in size, placed on top. The pits were filled with dark mud mixed with charcoal and bits of animal bones (remnants of sacrifices?).

There were at least five more units of the above-mentioned constructions: adjacent "shrines nos. 29 and 31", a "contiguous shrine", and "shrines nos. 20 and 30". They were arranged in a single row in front of the temple façade. In addition, a mass of different votive objects was found nearby: stone incense-burners on four legs, pottery and stone bowls, stone offering tables, a very primitive anthropomorphic stone statue and single standing monoliths including the so-called "baetyl" – stones in shape of a pyramid. A long stone gutter was discovered at the foundation of the south-west façade staircase. In all probability, it was a part of the drain construction representing by the offering table mounted in the upper steps of the staircase (see above).

According to Caton Thompson, all "shrines" and "votive groups" were in use after the destruction of the temple in an earthquake (?)[52]. The main arguments for such an assumption are as follows: (1) secondary use of votive stelae and limestone slabs with dedicative inscriptions which once decorated the mud-brick walls of the building, for construction of the exterior structures, and (2) the stratigraphic position of the latter, which is very clearly visible on the published sections[53]. The period of the temple's existence roughly coincides with the existence of the settlement. The pottery assemblage collected from the excavation is comparable to those from the "Middle Raybūn" and "Late Raybūn" periods, *i.e.* they may be dated to between 7th and 1st centuries BC, although we cannot excluded the possibility that the temple was founded even earlier, in 9th-8th centuries BC[54].

Long after the excavations of the British scholars at the settlement near al-Ḥurayḍa, a unique object was brought to the al-Mukallā Museum (see *pl. XLVI*). It is a big limestone block, 0.53x1.03 m in size, with a carving representing an ibex (head missing). Most probably, it was used as a base of a pillar or as a leg of an offering table. Its upper cubic projection bears an inscription carefully engraved on two sides: 𐩣𐩱𐩤)𐩧𐩺𐩣𐩥)𐩦𐩱𐩣//𐩲)𐩺𐩱𐩦𐩣𐩥𐩲 = *₁Yd[c]b/Ġ//yl[n]/b₂n/S[t]mhry// m/mkr₃b/Ḥḍr₄mt* = ₁Yada[c]ab Ghaylān, son ₂of Sumhuriyām, *mukar₃rib* of Ḥaḍra₄mawt. The name of the god Sayīn (𐩣𐩲𐩦 = *S[t]yn*) engraved on the top surface of the cubic projection clearly shows that it was an offering to a temple of the "federal" deity. According to the Museum's registration book (pers. com. by Dr. A.Dj. Ben Aqil), the piece was found at the al-Ḥurayḍa settlement, near the excavated temple. Thus, we can assume that once it stood in the temple of Madhābum.

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[52] Caton Thompson 1944, pp. 59-60 («...their immediately post-'C' date»).

[53] Cf. Caton Thompson 1944, pl. LXXVI.

[54] See Sedov 2003. The presence among the pottery finds from the surface of the settlement as well as from inventory of the cave-tombs apparently related to inhabitants of the ancient town pottery fragments comparable to the "Early Raybūn" pottery assemblages, enable dating the beginning of Madhābum to such an early period.

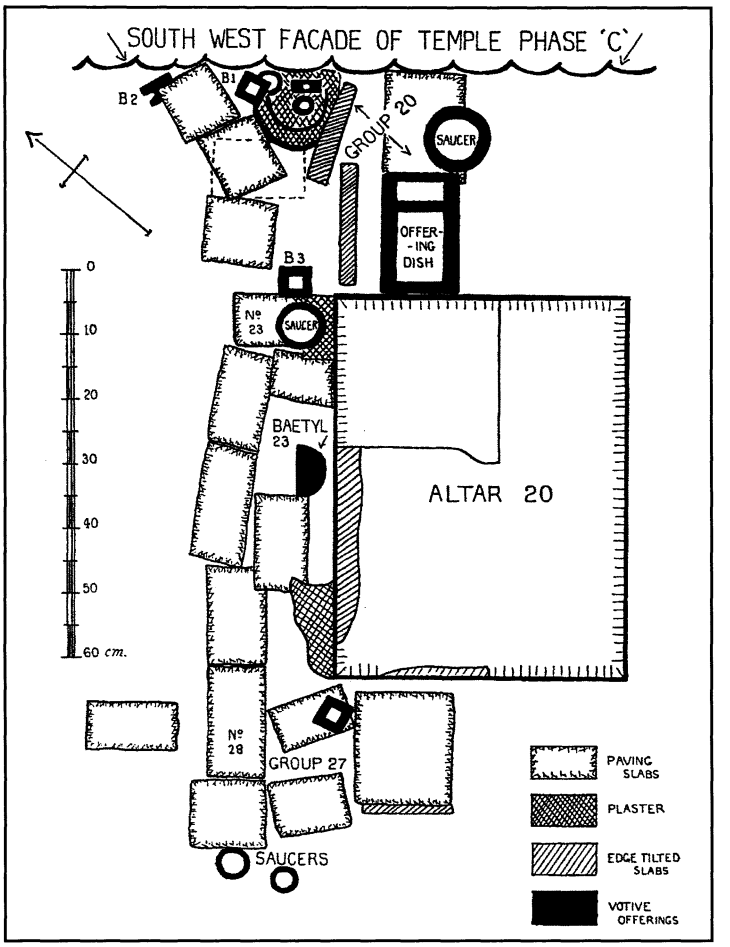

Figure 49. Temple Sayīn dhū-Madhābum, detailed plan of altar 20 and votive groups around (after Caton Thompson 1944, pl. LXXVII).

The Ḥaḍramawt ruler Yadaᶜ'ab Ghaylān, son of Sumhuriyām, who bore the title of *mukarrib*, the highest in the South Arabian hierarchy, is not attested in any other South Arabian texts. The editors of the *Catalogues* for Paris and Vienna Yemeni exhibition dated the object, on palaeographical grounds, close to the 6th century BC[55], which fits rather well with the dates of the temple's existence proposed above.

6. SETTLEMENTS IN THE WĀDĪ AL-ᶜAYN

Prior to 1983, the monuments of the Wādī al-ᶜAyn, one of the three largest tributaries in the western part of Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, were unknown. In 1984 and 1991 altogether seven ancient settlements,

[55] The late G.M. Bauer, who omitted the name of the god on top of the object (Bauer 1995, p. 140, fig. 23), first published the piece from the al-Mukallā Museum in 1995. The editors of the *Catalogues* didn't mention it either, although it is quite visible on the photo; see Yémen 1997, p. 102; Jemen 1998, p. 293, Cat. No. 162; see also Avanzini 1996, pp. 182-184.

many of them with clearly visible structures identifying as temples, and ruins of an isolated temple were recorded[56].

TEMPLE NEAR ᶜADHĀB (RAYBŪN XXXVI)

The ruins of a small temple lie some 0.5 km to the south-east of the modern village of ᶜAdhāb, in the mouth of Wādī al-ᶜAyn (see *pl. XL*, 2). A rectangular stone platform made of large rough stones was built about 25-30 m from the foot of the wadi slope. The platform measures *c.* 15x20 m, and is about 1.7 m high. A narrow pass leads from the foot of the slope to the southern corner of the platform where a stone staircase about 10 m long and 2 m wide was erected. The temple itself is barely preserved. Only a stone socle, *c.* 6x10 m in size and 2.0 m high, is visible in the centre of the platform. A 1.5 m-wide staircase running east-west leads from the platform pavement to the entrance of what was probably a mud-brick building.

Several fragments of limestone facing slabs with fragments of votive inscriptions were found in the ruins of the structure. These indicate that the temple was dedicated to Sayīn, the "federal" deity of Ḥaḍramawt. Thus, one of the fragments contains a part of the votive formula with the name of the god: 𐩱𐩲𐩣𐩧𐩲𐩧𐩣𐩱 = *][ʾ]dn/Sʿyn[* = "...[placed under] the will of Sayīn..." (inscription AD 1=SOYCE 904=Ad/84, 1). A part of two-lines (?) dedicative inscription preserved on another fragment: 𐩲𐩱𐩣𐩲𐩨𐩣₂𐩱𐩤𐩢𐩢𐩲 𐩧𐩲𐩱 = ₁*][b]n/Yyrḍ* ₂*[sʿqny/Sʿy]n* = "₁... [so]n of Yayaraḍ ₂[dedicated to Sayī]n" (inscription AD 2=SOYCE 905=Ad/84, 2)[57].

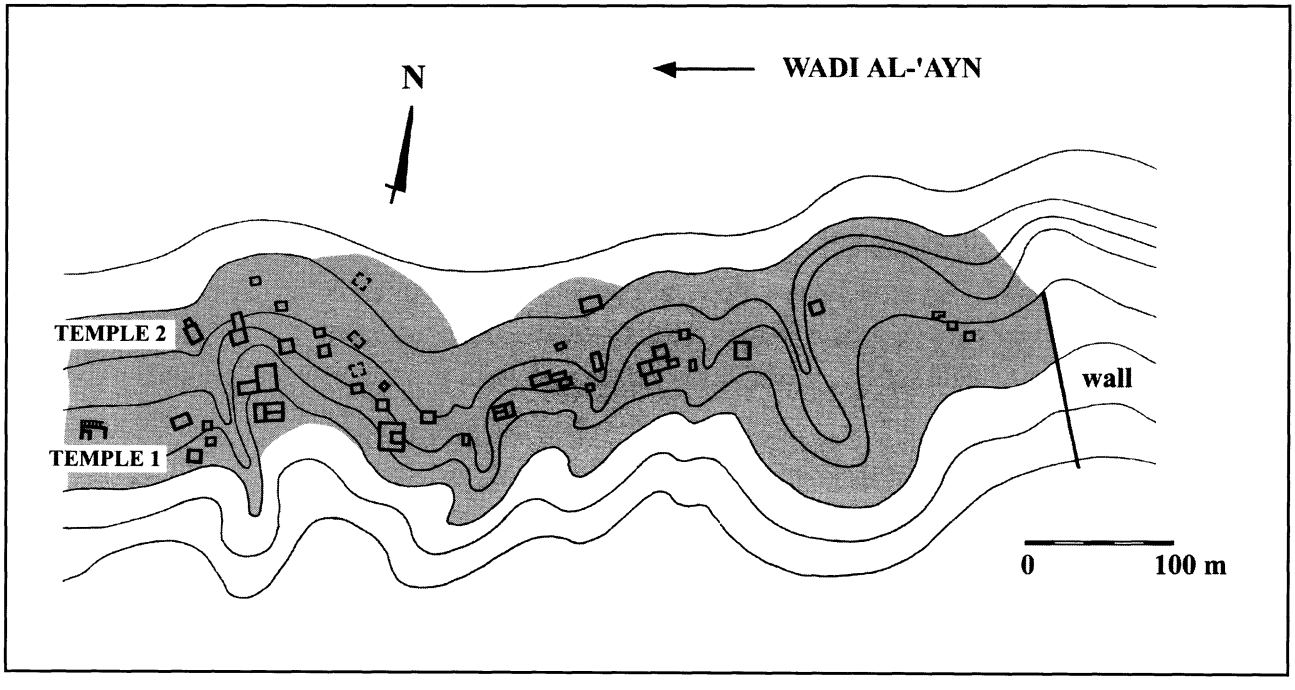

Figure 50. Māravīḥ settlement, sketch plan (drawing by A. Sedov).

[56] Sedov 1996.

[57] Piotrovskij 1995, pp. 177-179.

A few pottery body-shards collected in the ruins as well as the palaeography of the inscriptions allow us to date the temple generally to the second half of the 1st millennium BC.

MĀRAVĪḤ SETTLEMENT (RAYBŪN XXXIV)

The site lies on the southern slope of the mouth of Wādī al-ᶜAyn (*fig. 50*). Ruins of buildings cover an area of about 70x500 m (*c.* 3.5 ha) along the wadi's slope. A wall, *c.* 1.5 m wide and 70 m long, made of rough stones and built using the dry method probably marks the eastern edge of the settlement. Over forty dwellings could be identified and one could easily see the stone foundations of mud-brick (?) houses, the walls of which have long since disappeared. The dimensions of the individual dwelling units vary from about 6.0x8.0 m to 12.0x16.0 m; most of them were organised into large, multiroom complexes with a number of separate entrances. A high concentration of such complexes was observed in the central and western parts of the settlement.

In all probability there were two *intra muros* temples along the western side of the settlement.

Temple 1 - One of the temples or the 'north-western structure' was constructed on a rectangular platform (*c.* 10.0x25.0 m in size and *c.* 2.0 m high) built of rough-dressed stones with a kind of square porch (4.0x8.0 m in size) in front of its north-north-western side. One staircase, *c.* 2.5 m wide, leads to the porch from the valley floor about 30 m below. A second single-span staircase leads from the porch to the top of the platform. The temple building apparently occupied a western part of the platform where a stone socle about 5.5x8.0 m in size and less than 1.0 m high is situated. The superstructure of the building, which was probably made of mud-bricks, was not preserved. The eastern part of the platform is occupied by another building about 10.0x15.0 in size, the stone socle of which is preserved to a height of *c.* 0.5 m.

Temple 2 - The second temple or the 'western structure' was constructed on a rectangular platform (*c.* 8.0x12.0 m) built of rough-dressed stone. A staircase about 3.0 m wide leads to the top of the platform, where the temple presumably stood, from the north-west.

Little material was found in the ruins of the settlement. Several small fragments of votive inscriptions engraved on limestone facing slabs were collected near the temples. One of the inscriptions from the "north-western structure" preserved the name of the god Sayīn to whom, most probably, the temple was dedicated:][= *]/S¹y[n][* (inscription MR 5=SOYCE 934=Mr/84, 5). Two more fragments of facing slabs containing parts of a sacral formula were discovered in the ruins. The biggest one can be considered as a part of dedicative inscription of a certain Shakamum: = *₁S²kmm/b[n][ ][s¹qny][₂][w-wld-] s¹/w-qny-[s¹]* = " ₁Shakamum, so[n of ... dedicated ...₂and his childr]en and his possessi[ons]" (inscription MR 1=SOYCE 930=Mr/84, 1). The ruins of the 'western structure' revealed a facing slab with complete proper name carefully engraved in the centre of its upper part. In accordance with a number of analogies from Raybūn and Biʾr Ḥamad temples it can be also considered as a "short variant" of a dedicative inscription: = *Ḥnwṯm* (inscription MR 6=SOYCE 935=Mr/84, 6)[58].

[58] Piotrovskij 1995, pp. 189-191.

Pottery fragments collected from the surface are very similar to those from the Raybūn I settlement in the lower reaches of Wādī Dawᶜan belonging to the late period of the site (period "Late Raybūn", phases LR-I and LR-II)[59].

LAGLĀT SETTLEMENT

The settlement lies *c.* 1 km south of the modern village of Laglāt. It occupies an area of roughly 180x220 m (*c.* 4 ha), and is oriented along a north-north-east - south-south-west axis (*fig. 51*). Six large, well-preserved buildings are concentrated in the north-eastern part of the settlement where mud-brick houses once stood on platforms of variable size (*i.e.* 10.0x10.0 m, 12.0x15.0 m and 12.0x16.0 m) made of rough-dressed stones. The rest of the settlement consists of small mounds, no doubt the remains of mud-bricks structures.

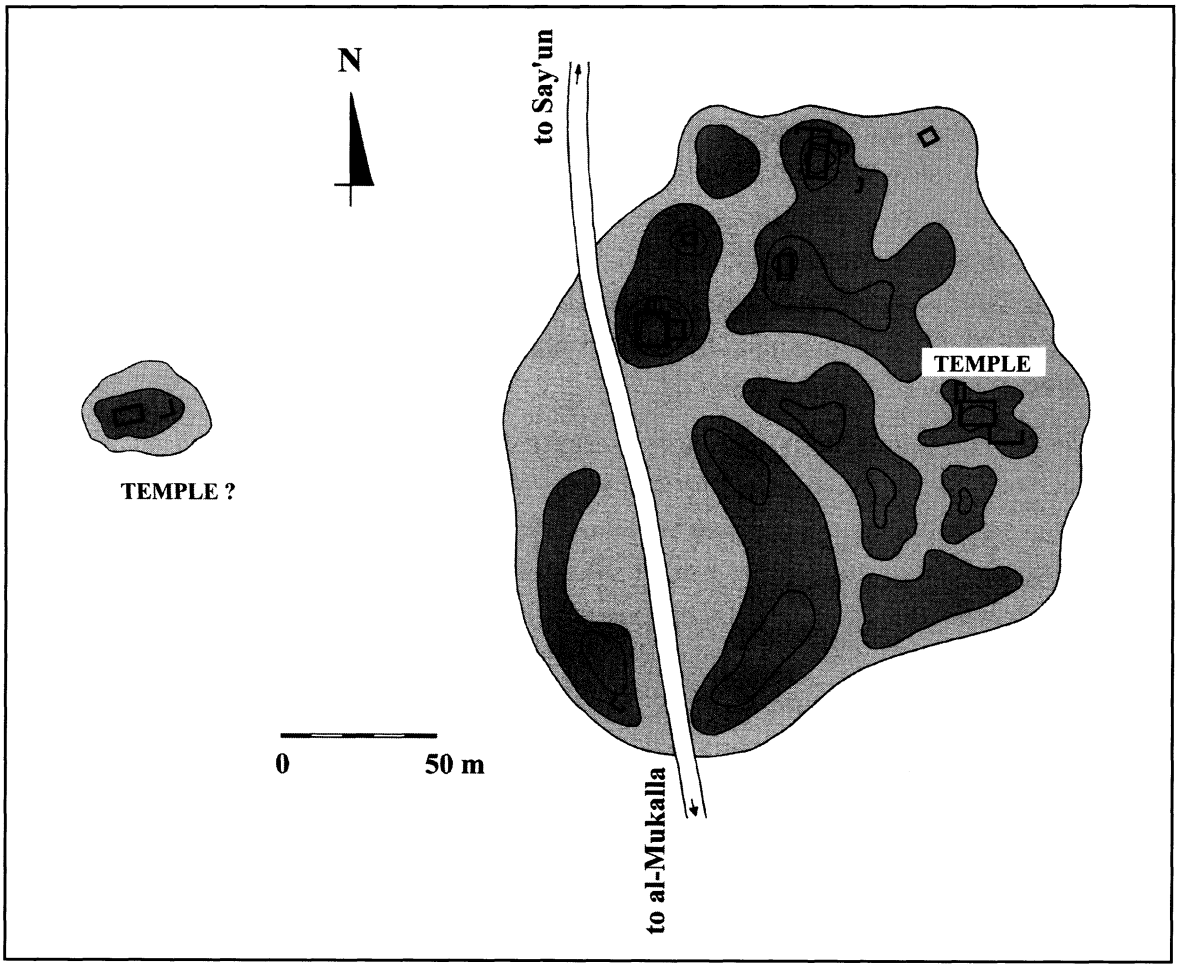

Figure 51. Laglāt settlement, sketch plan (drawing by A. Sedov).

[59] Cf. Sedov 2003.

Intra muros *temple* - In all probability the structure situated in the eastern part of the settlement, on a stone socle with a staircase against its north-western corner, was a local temple. Fragments of inscriptions found in the ruins of the building show that it was sacred to the god Sayīn: 𐩱𐩣𐩲[𐩧][= *][Sʾ]yn/[* (inscription LG 1=SOYCE 941=Lg/84, 1)[60]. Fragments of stone incense-burners with rectangular and round upper parts as well as pieces of facing slabs and a fragment of a votive stele were recovered in the ruins of the building.

Extra muros *temple* - Ruins of a separate stone socle about 8.0x10.0 m in size with adjoining structure on its eastern side lie 100 m west of the settlement. The building may represent a sanctuary erected beyond the settlement, an example of so-called *extra muros* temples known elsewhere in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt. A fragment of a rectangular stone incense-burner and a limestone facing slab decorated with five incised grooves were found in the ruins of the building.

The pottery collected from the sections and from the settlement's surface have direct parallels with the pottery corpus of the Raybūn I settlement in the lower reaches of Wādī Dawᶜan (period "Late-Raybūn", phases LR-I and LR-II)[61].

AṢ-ṢAFĪL 1 SETTLEMENT

The settlement lies on the outskirts of the modern village of aṣ-Ṣafīl, and occupies an area about 140x200 m, a little less than 3 ha (*fig. 52*). The settlement extends in a north-western - south-eastern direction. Six large buildings erected on stone socles of varying dimensions (*i.e.* 4.0x8.0 m, 8.0x8.0 m, 6.0x10.0 m, 10.0 x10.0 m in size and 1.2-1.5 m high) and no less than ten mud-brick structures could be identified at the settlement area.

Intra muros *temple* - The largest structure found in the centre of the settlement was probably a temple. The stone platform on which it stood measures 12.0x15.0 m and is *c.* 1.2 m high. Its orientation is along a west-east axis. A porch measuring 4.0x12.0 m adjoins the western side of the platform. A staircase about 4.0 m wide runs eastward to the top of the porch. The remains of stone bases which once supported the wooden (?) pillars inside the temple can be traced on the surface of the platform.

A nearly complete stone incense-burner, fragments of votive stelae, limestone facing slabs and parts of a massive, round offering table were discovered near the temple staircase. A complete offering table with a votive inscription engraved on its sides was found in the ruins of the building above the platform. The inscription can be read as follows: 𐩧𐩨𐩨𐩫[𐩱] [𐩱𐩣𐩧]𐩣𐩱𐩲[𐩧]//𐩸𐩹𐩣𐩱𐩣𐩱𐩨//𐩹𐩧𐩺𐩧 = *ʾwsʾm // bn/Ylmṯ // [sʾ]qny/[Sʾyn // n]fsʾ-sʾ* = «ʾAwsam, son of Yalmath, [de]dicated to [Sayīn his s]oul» (inscription SF I/1=SOYCE 914=Sf I/84, 1). According to the possible restoration of the name of the god mentioning in the inscription, the temple was sacred to Sayīn.

Extra muros *temple* - The ruins of a separate structure erected on a stone socle about 7.0x12.0 m in size and *c.* 1.0 m high is situated 80 m to the south of the settlement (an *extra muros* temple?). The platform of the structure is oriented in an east-west direction.

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[60] Piotrovskij 1995, p. 179.

[61] Cf. Sedov 2003.

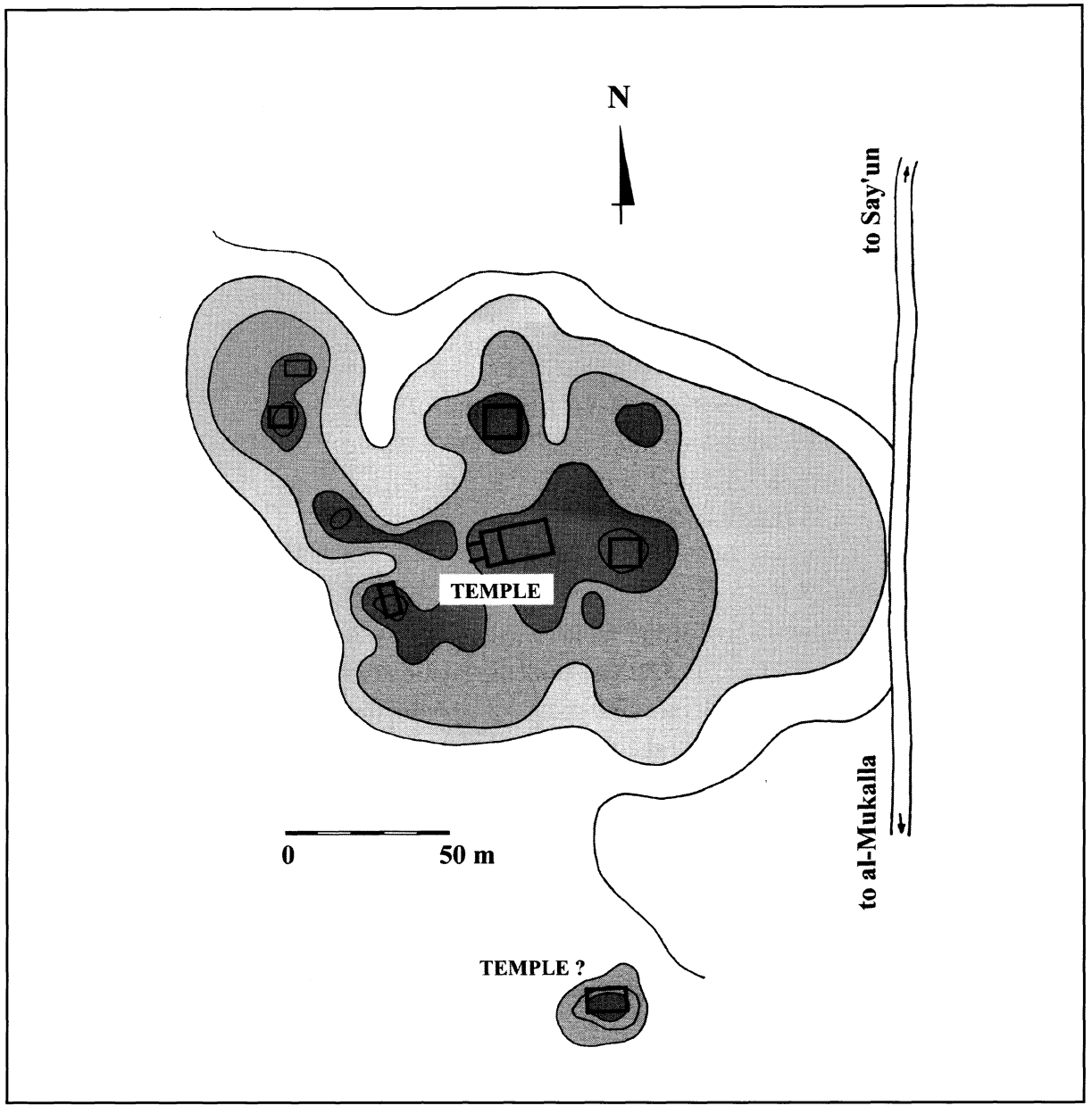

Figure 52. Aṣ-Ṣafīl 1 settlement, sketch plan (drawing by A. Sedov).

The name of Sayīn is preserved also on a fragment of votive stele collected at the surface of the cemetery located in the wadi slope east of the settlement: 𐩣𐩱𐩺[𐩦$_2$𐩺]𐩱𐩣[𐩱𐩺𐩦]$_1$= $_3$*][s¹qny]/S¹y[n $_2$q]ny-s¹* = «... $_1$[dedicated] to Sayī[n... ...his po]ssessions» (inscription SF I/6=SOYCE 919=Sf I, nekr./84, 4)[62]. The stele was, probably, placed in one of the above-mentioned temples and its discovery at the cemetery was made by chance. On the other hand, it might be an indication that one more temple dedicated to Sayīn once stood on the wadi's slope near the cemetery.

[62] Piotrovskij 1995, pp. 180-182.

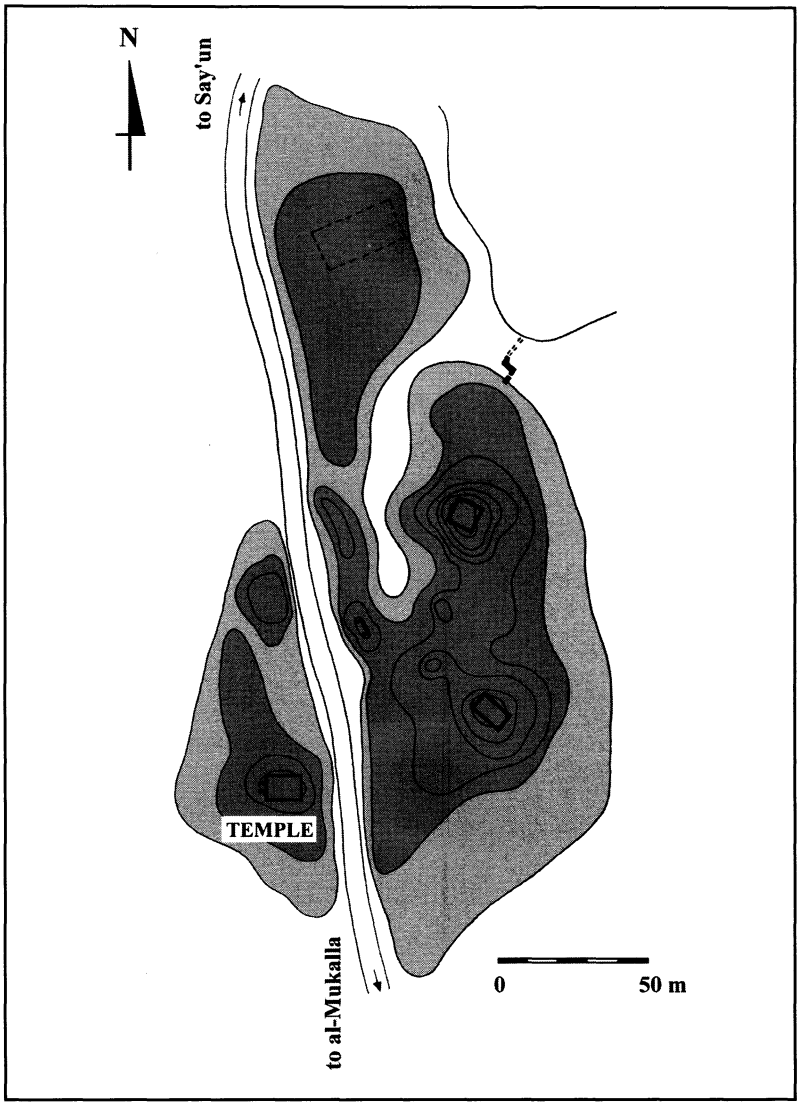

Figure 53. Aṣ-Ṣafīl 2 settlement, sketch plan (drawing by A. Sedov).

Pottery collected from the ruins of the settlement has close parallels in the Raybūn pottery corpus of the second half of the 1st millennium BC[63].

AṢ-ṢAFĪL 2 SETTLEMENT

The settlement lies *c.* 2 km south of the aṣ-Ṣafīl 1 settlement and occupies an area about 120x160 m (less than 2 ha) (*fig. 53*). The ruins of several massive mud-brick buildings erected on stone socles occupy the eastern part of the settlement. These appear now as high, *c.* 5.0-7.0 m, flat-topped conical mounds. One can easily make out mud-brick walls and the cultural deposits, which fill the space between them. In all probability a second storey is preserved in some of the house ruins.

[63] Cf. Sedov 2003.

Intra muros *temple* - A structure situated in the south-western corner of the site has a completely different character. Here no traces of mud-brick walls have been found at all. A socle (*c.* 10.0x15.0 m in size, and 1.2 m high) built of rough-dressed stone blocks extends in an east-west direction, and ruins of staircase could be traced along its western side. A large number of rough dressed stone blocks, including cubical stone bases and limestone facing slabs, are scattered on top of the platform.

One of the facing slabs bears part of a votive inscription mentioning the god ᶜAthtar:][𐩣𐩣𐩤] 𐩧𐩡𐩲𐩨𐩬[𐩡𐩧𐩨𐩣][= *][sˡqny/]ᶜṯtr/n[fsˡ-sˡ][* = «...[dedicated to] ᶜAthtar his s[oul]...» (inscription SF II/1=SOYCE 920=Sf II/84,1-2). It seems that this find allows us to identify the building as a temple sacred, probably, to the god ᶜAthtar, the supreme deity of the "federal" Ḥaḍramawt pantheon. But we cannot exclude the possibility that in fact it was, like other temples at the ancient settlements in the Wādī al-ᶜAyn, the temple of Sayīn, and other deities of the Ḥaḍramawt pantheon were occasionally worshipped in it. In this case the above-mentioned inscription could be one of these occasional offerings.

In addition to this inscription, the ruins of the structure revealed fragments of offering tables and numerous limestone facing slabs with engraved votive inscriptions containing parts of dedicative formulae. Two carefully executed inscriptions are worthy of mention. They were engraved in the centre of the upper parts of limestone facing slabs and both of them contain the identical text: 𐩧𐩡𐩬𐩲 = *s²rkᶜyn* (inscriptions SF II/7=SOYCE 927=Sf II/86, 3 and SF II/8=SOYCE 928=Sf II/86, 4). The text could be interpreted in two ways: (1) either as a proper name *Sharakᶜayn* or (2) as the name of local (town?) community, *shark* ᶜAyn (with *s²rk* as supposed parallel to Sabaean *s²ᶜb*[64]). In the last case it will be an indication that the community in addition to individuals was allowed to donate the temple[65].

Ceramic fragments collected from the surface of the as-Ṣafīl 2 settlement and a moulded bronze coin belonging to the "eagle series" of Yashhurʾīl Yuharᶜish, son of Abīyaśaᶜ, *mukarrib* of Ḥaḍramawt[66], give an idea about the period of the settlement's existence which is roughly contemporary to the Raybūn oasis in the Wādī Dawᶜan, *i.e.* from the last centuries of the 2nd millennium BC to the late 1st century BC[67].

AL-QŪFF SETTLEMENT

The easternmost ancient settlement in the Wādī al-ᶜAyn lies some 3.5 km north of the modern town of Buwayrkat. The site known as al-Qūff, occupies a small promontory formed by the Wādī al-ᶜAyn and its small tributary the Wādī Shaᶜarān.

The settlement was partly destroyed by seasonal flood waters, and a few deep depressions cut its territory (*fig. 54*). Al-Qūff extends *c.* 180-m along the wadi bed and about 90 m in the north-eastern direction, covering an area of about 1.5 ha. The ruins of about fifteen dwellings could be identified.

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[64] On this subject see Murtazin 1995, p. 269.
[65] Piotrovskij 1995, pp. 182-185.
[66] Cf. Sedov 1998a, pp. 75-78.
[67] Cf. Sedov 2003.

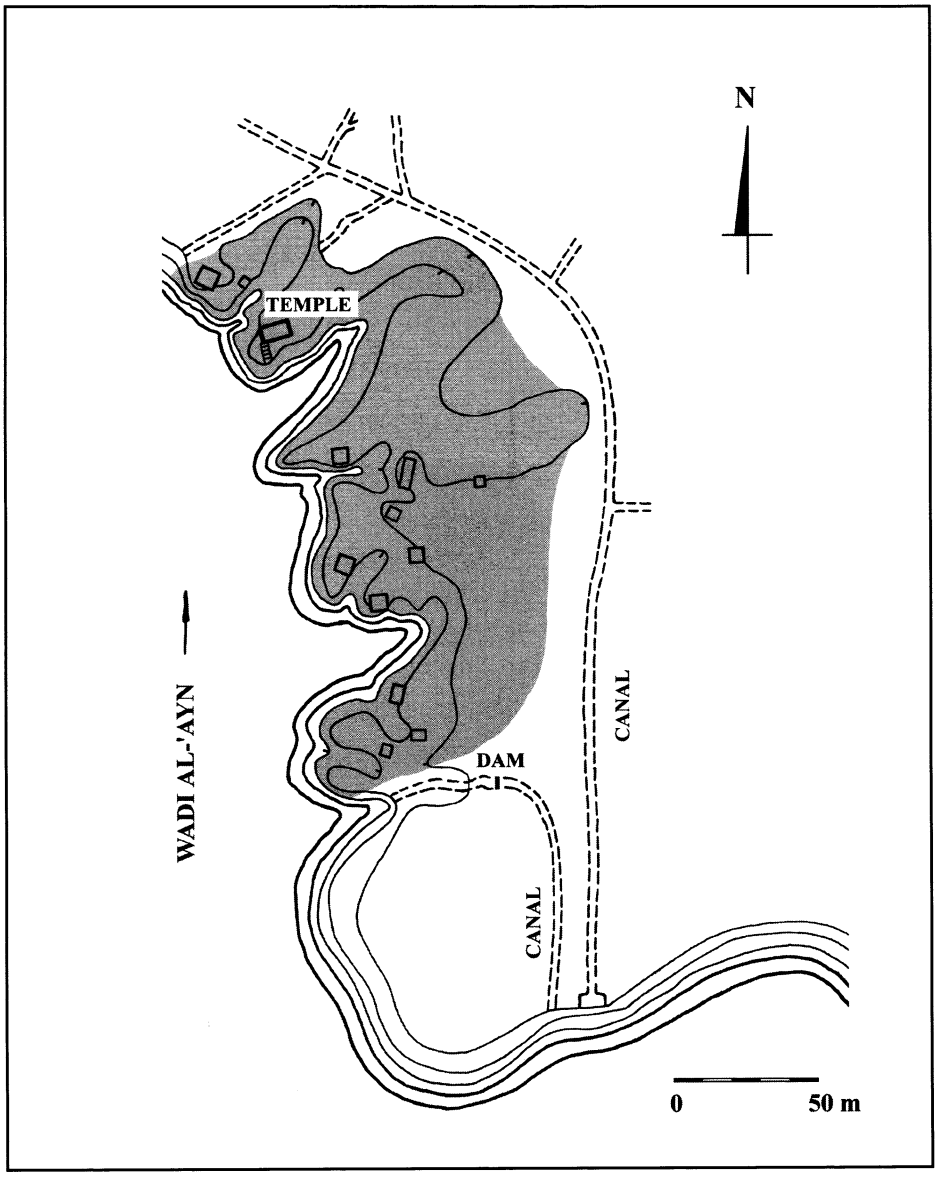

Figure 54. Al-Qūff settlement, sketch plan (drawing by A. Sedov).

Intra muros *temple* - A structure occupying a small promontory in the north-western part of the settlement probably represents the remains of a temple. A large stone socle (*c.* 8x12 m in size) with a staircase leading from the wadi's bed to its south-western corner is still preserved, while the temple itself – now only a heap of stones – is no longer extant.

The finds discovered in the ruins of the building included fragments of two stone incense-burners, as well as part of an offering table with small oval cavities on its flat surface and incised inscription 𐩣𐩧𐩸𐩺 = *Yḏtʾn* (a proper name or the name of the temple) on its side (inscription GF 4=SOYCE 913=Gf/84, 7; the first two letters are shown as a ligature). A nearly complete stele-*musnad* was found at the foot of the temple staircase (see *pl. XLVII*, 2). The upper part of the stele was

decorated carelessly with incised horizontal lines and square dental decoration, and divine symbols, including a crescent and a star (the latter could also be the moon or the Southern Arabian letter 𐩺 = *y*). The five(?)-line inscription on the stele is a dedication of Shaᶜbyadaᶜ, son of Aydaᶜamm to the god Sayīn, to whom, in all probability, the temple was dedicated (inscription GF 1=SOYCE 910=Gf/84, 1: 𐩣𐩲𐩥 𐩺𐩨𐩬𐩵𐩧𐩡𐩴 𐩴𐩥𐩴𐩸𐩣𐩡𐩴𐩺𐩲𐩴𐩺𐩨𐩬𐩵 = *ₗS²ᶜbydᶜ/bn₂ʾydᶜm/ s¹qn₃y/S¹yn/ms³ndh₄n/ḏ-s²ft/h-s¹/ʾ[y]₅[dᶜm]* = «₁Shaᶜbyadaᶜ, son₂ of ʾAydaᶜamm dedica₃ted to Sayīn the inscription₄ which ʾAy₅[daᶜamm] promised to him»)[68].

The pottery from the settlement includes well-known forms of the second half of the 1st millennium BC such as hole-mouth jars and pear-shaped bowls with a high, pedestal ring base, deep bowls with horizontal ledge handles (Ḥaḍrami stoneware) and others[69].

7. ᶜUQRĀN

The complex of ancient monuments consisting of ruins of a settlement, a cave-necropolis and ruins of an *extra muros* temple is located at the foot and on the southern slope of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, *c.* 7 km to the south-east of the modern town Shibām (*fig. 55*)[70]. The ancient settlement is preserved as tell, *c.* 150x200 m in size and *c.* 4.0 m high. Houses of the modern village ᶜUqrān totally occupy the ancient ruins. The cave-necropolis is located on the wadi slope a few meters to the south of the settlement.

Extra muros *temple* - The ruins of the *extra muros* temple occupy a small projection to the east of the settlement and necropolis. Unfortunately, it was practically totally destroyed by local settlers who used the ruins as a stone quarry. A rectangular stone platform, *c.* 12.0x25.0 m in size, made of large rough stones was built about 20-25 m from the foot of the wadi slope. The platform is oriented north-west - south-east. The superstructure of the building, which was probably made of mud-bricks, was not preserved. Several fragments of limestone facing slabs were found scattered in its ruins. A few body-shards collected at the site are very similar to those from the Raybūn I settlement in the lower reaches of the Wādī Dawᶜan. The offering table with votive inscription mentioning Sayīn dhū-ʾIllīm (RES 3512b=SE 50+51 and RES 3512a=SE 52)[71] was found, apparently, in the ruins, which makes it possible to identify the ruins as the temple dedicated to the capital hypostasis of the "federal" deity of Ḥaḍramawt (see also above, *Chapter 1*).

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[68] Piotrovskij 1995, pp. 187-188.

[69] Cf. Sedov 1996, p. 272, fig. 25.

[70] The presence of ancient ruins in ᶜUqrān was mentioned in Wissmann, Höfner 1952, p. 351; Wissmann 1968, p. 32.

[71] Bents 1900, pp. 124-125; Wissmann 1968, pp. 32, 46; pl. III, 2.

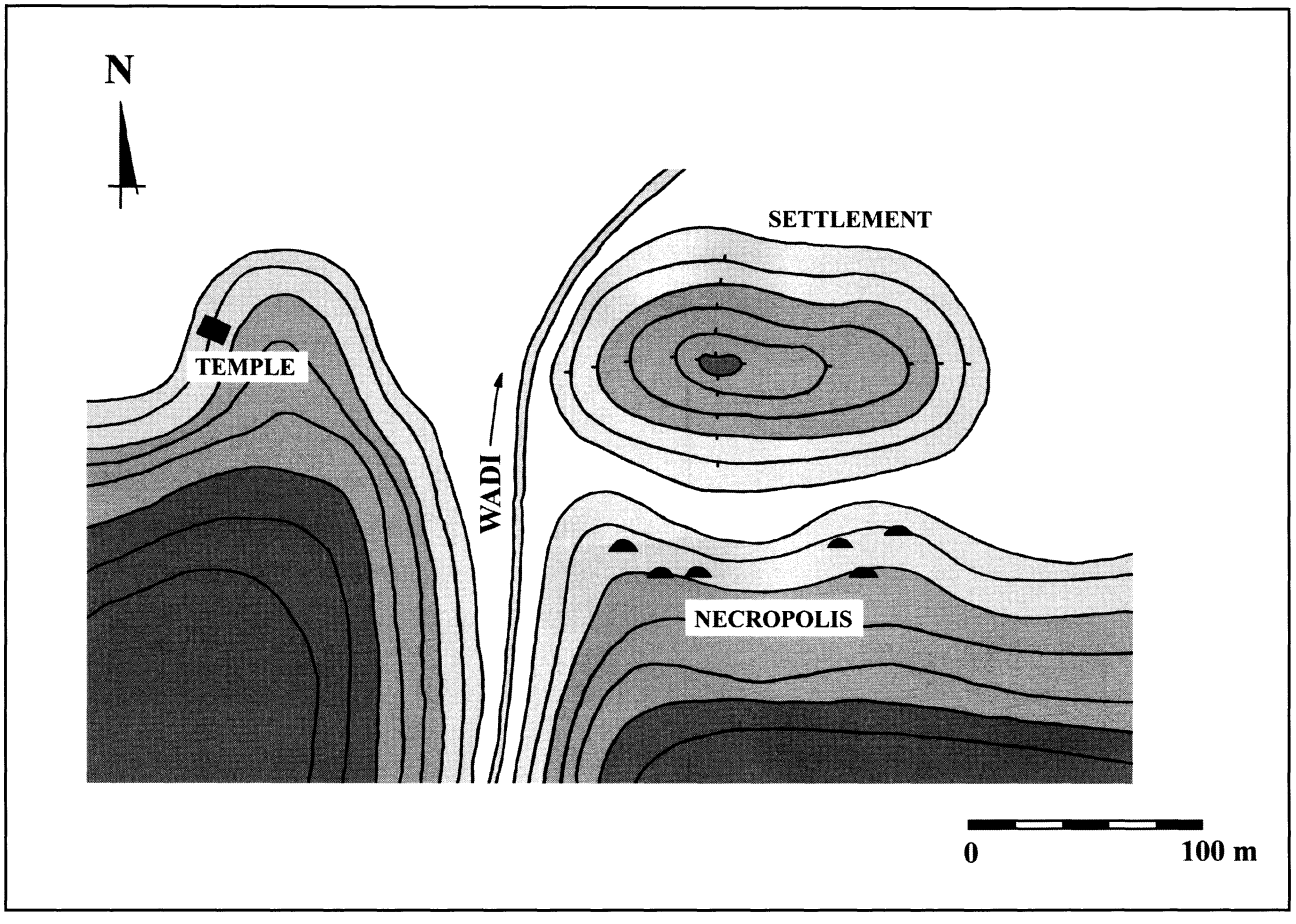

Figure 55. ʿUqrān, sketch plan of the complex (drawing by A. Sedov).

8. JŪJA

A small settlement known now as Jūja is located in the central part of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, *c.* 4.0 km west of the modern town Shibām. The settlement looks now as several isolated mounds, from which the central and the largest one is *c.* 200x400 m in size and *c.* 4.5 m high. In 1994-95 the archaeological expedition of the New York University, Institute of Fine Arts under the leadership of Prof. D. Hansen made a large-scale excavations at the central mound. In the western part of the mound a large dwelling complex dated close to the first four centuries of our era was unearthed ("Area B"). A deep sounding in the eastern part of the mound ("Area A") revealed remains of what could be one of the earliest religious buildings ever found in Ḥaḍramawt[72].

[72] The following description bases on the information obtained in February 1998 during my stay at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton from Prof. D. Hansen, Dr. S. al-Radi and Dr. E. Ochsenschlager to whom I am very much indebted, and on the paper "1996 Excavations at Jujā-Shibām" presented at the *4th International Conference on Civilisation of Ancient Yemen*, held in March 10th-13th, 1998 in Ṣanʿāʾ, Republic of Yemen. Now see HANSEN, OCHSENSCHLAGER, AL-RADI 2004.

Intra muros *temple* - At least two main constructional phases of the building were determined during the course of excavations.

The "Early Temple" - The mud-brick building revealed at one of the lowest stratum of the site ("Level IV") was constructed above the cultural deposits ("Level V") which could be dated, according to the parallels for its pottery assemblage in the "Early Raybūn" material, prior to the 9th or early 8th centuries BC. The analyses of a sample of carbonized wood from the deposits related to "Level V" gives C14 reading of 2690±60 BP. The calibration of the date with 68% of probability (1 *sigma* calibration) places the date of the sample between 890 and 805 BC, while the calibration with 95% probability (2 *sigma* calibration) falls between 900 and 790 BC[73].

The unearthed complex of structures identified as the "Early Temple" was surrounded by a wall or a fence made from mud-bricks and strengthened with pilasters (*fig. 56*). The entrance located near the north-eastern corner of the fence led into a vast inner courtyard ("locus 26").

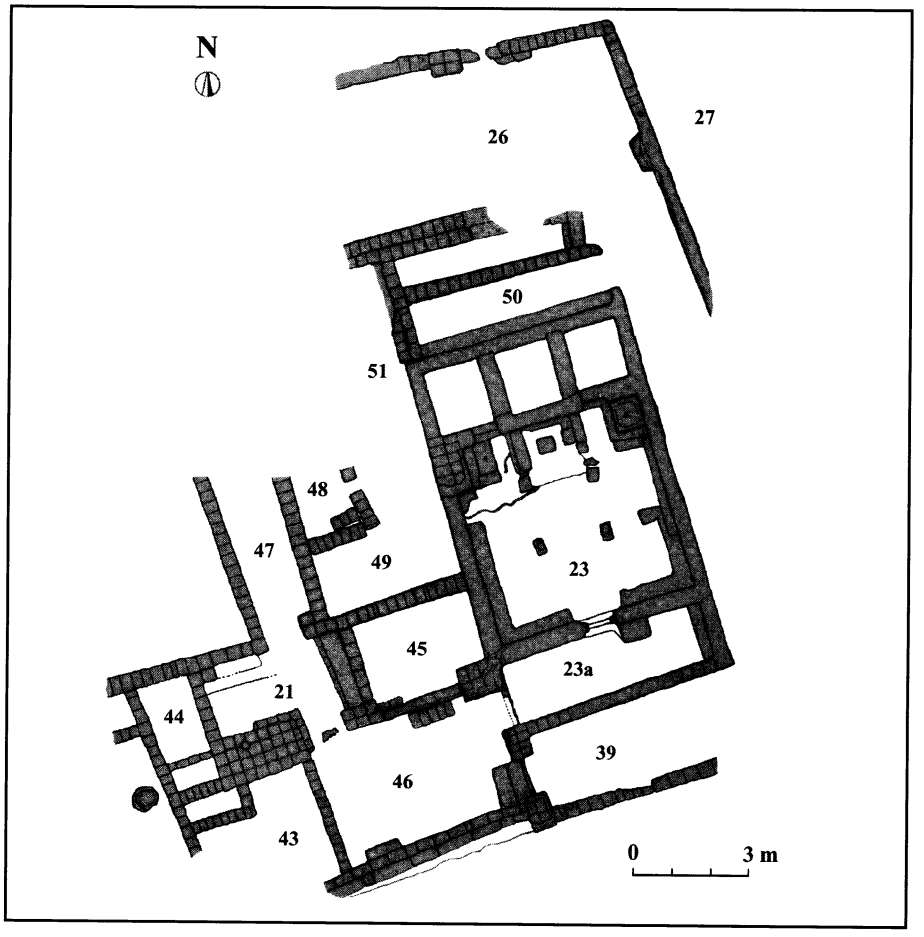

Figure 56. Jūja settlement, "Early Temple", plan (after Hansen, Ochsenschlager, al-Radi 2004, fig. 3)

[73] HANSEN, OCHSENSCHLANGER, AL-RADI 2004, pp. 59-60, figs. 23-24.

The core of the complex was a building, apparently a sanctuary, situated in the south-eastern corner of the fenced area. It was rectangular in layout, *c.* 6.0x8.8 m in size, with orientation along the north-north-west - south-south-east direction. The walls of the building were made from mud-bricks placed on stone foundations. The entrance, only 0.8 m wide, located in the south-western corner of the building. From the outside the door was decorated with two mud-brick buttresses forming, most probably, a sort of portal. It led into a narrow vestibule ("locus 23a") located in its south-western corner. Another entrance in the centre of the northern wall of the vestibule, 0.5 m wide, led into a central hall, almost square in the layout. Low benches were constructed along the eastern wall of the vestibule and near the entrance to the hall. Four pillars once supported the roof of the hall ("locus 23") and divided the hall into three naves were found in its centre. Columns were made, most probably, from wood and didn't preserve, while four mud-brick bases were discovered *in situ*. L-shaped mud-brick benches were constructed along the west, east and south walls of the hall. Two low mud-brick partition walls built against the middle part of the northern wall separated three premises widely opened towards the hall. A prismatic-shaped podium or altar made from mud-bricks, as well as low and narrow benches along the walls, was situated in the central compartment. Several runnels, presumably intended to carry off liquids offered in libation, crossed the floor in front of the central compartment and led to a drain piercing the western wall. Another podium occuping the north-eastern corner of one of the side compartments, while the third one contained a mud-brick staircase leading, probably, to the upper floor or to the roof of the building. A row of three small rooms without entrances, most probably, served as basements of premises located on the upper floor, occupied the northern part of building. They were intentionally filled with broken pieces of mud-bricks and a layer of pebbles. The interior of the hall and compartments including its walls, floor, pillar bases, benches, podiums, steps etc. were carefully plastered by lime mortar.

Several additional rooms were constructed outside the sanctuary, against its western and southern walls. Probably, some of them were of special importance. The interior walls of one of these rooms ("locus 46") were painted black. It served, probably, as antechamber of the sanctuary and was accessible from the northern part of the inner courtyard ("locus 26") through the corridor ("locus 47") and another small room ("locus 21"), which interior walls were painted red. Later in the history of complex the entrance connected the loci 21 and 46 was blocked with mud-bricks, and the sanctuary was accessible only through the corridor denoted as "locus 39" located in the south-eastern part of the complex. It seems likely that the latter room was part of a longer structure, apparently in a form of L-shaped corridor, separated the sanctuary and the outer fence. A well constructed entrance with heavy door-jambs and nicely made steps connected the loci 46 and 39. Special attention should be paid also to the room denoted as "locus 45", which was almost square in the layout and had a wide entrance in the centre of its southern wall. Two windows were traced in the northern wall of the chamber. The interior walls of the room were painted red.

Fragments of painted plaster were found in abundance along the walls outside and inside the sanctuary, which gives an idea that its entire exterior and interior walls were decorated by polychrome frescos. In addition to lines, dots and other geometric figures, parts of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figurines and letters of Ḥaḍrami script could be recognised.

The dates proposed for the existence of the "Early Temple" are based on the pottery comparisons with stratified Raybūn material and on two C14 dates of charcoal samples. The pottery is similar to the assemblages from MR-I and MR-II phases ("Middle Raybūn" period) dated between 7th and 5th centuries BC. The first carbon sample obtained from the layer between two plaster floors of the sanctuary gives the reading of 2410±50 BP (1 *sigma* calibration provides the date range between 525 and 400 BC, and 2 *sigma* calibration – between 765 and 615 BC). The second sample came from the floor of the "locus 21" gives the C14 reading of 2480±60 BP with date range according to 1 *sigma* calibration between 780 and 415 BC, and 2 *sigma* calibration – between 795 and 400 BC[74].

The *"Platform Temple"* - The ruins of above-mentioned complex were used as a foundation for the structure also of a sacred character discovered in the subsequent stratum ("Level III") (*fig. 57*). For this purpose the walls of the sanctuary of the "early temple" were cut down on a height of *c.* 0.5 m, and the interior of the building was filled up with clay and fragments of mud-bricks. This artificial mound was levelled with layer of pure sand, and used as a foundation for the outer mud-brick walls of a platform. The space between the walls was filled with soil. The platform was crowned with mud-

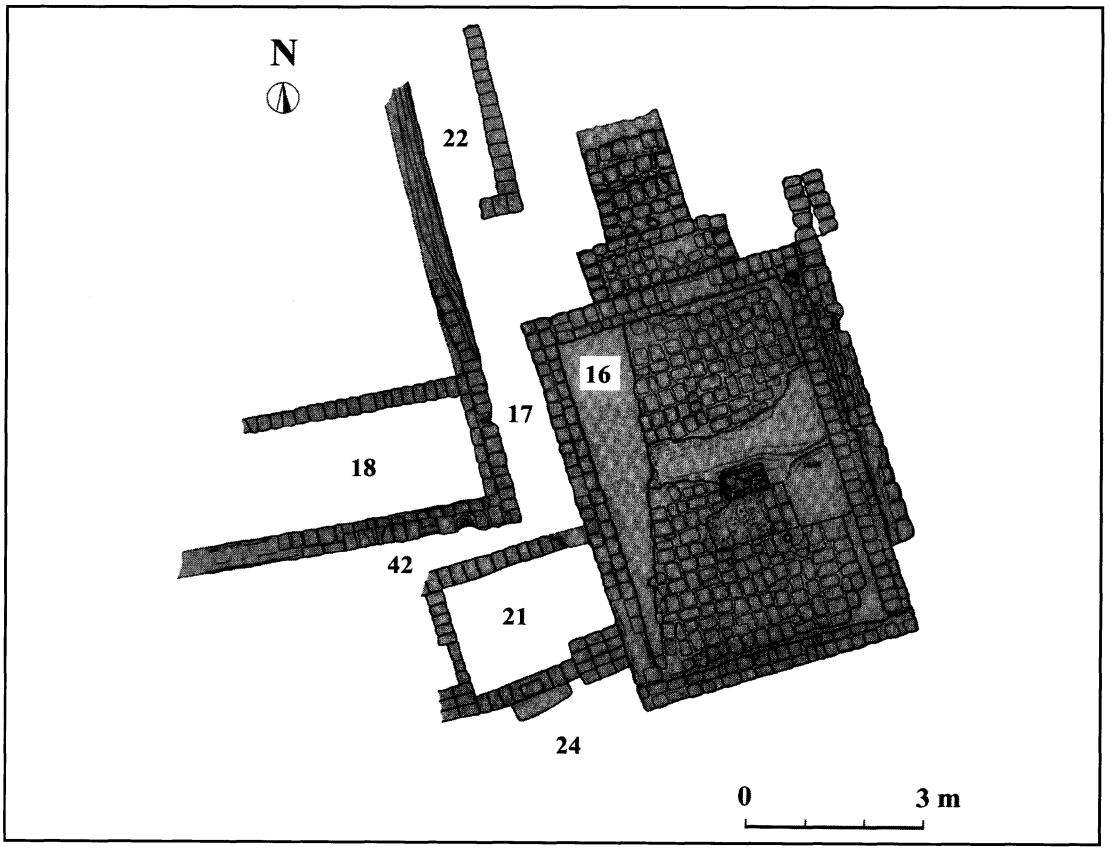

Figure 57. Jūja settlement, "PlatformTemple", plan (after Hansen, Ochsenschlager, al-Radi 2004, fig. 11).

[74] Hansen, Ochsenschlanger, al-Radi 2004, pp. 60-62, figs. 25-27.

brick pavement ("locus 16"). A wide staircase leading to the top of the platform, which is *c.* 1.6 m high, was built against the northern side of the structure.

There are no remains of any constructions on the top of the platform except from a pebble and lime floor surrounding a sort of low podium situated roughly in its centre. The podium was originally plastered with lime. Two shallow lime basins and plastered runnels that served for disposal of liquid offerings were set in front of the podium. Two pairs of post-holes were traced south of podium. Apparently, a sort of light canopy was once constructed there.

Like in the previous structure, the mud-brick fence surrounded the "Platform Temple": it seems that at least the southern part of the "early" fence was rebuilt and still in use. Several additional "early" rooms like, for instance, "locus 21" and some other new added mud-brick structures were also in function ("loci 17, 18, 22, 24, 42").

Comparisons with stratified pottery material from Raybūn excavations (pottery of LR-I phase of the "Late Raybūn" period) and one more radiocarbon date of a charcoal sample from platform's filling (2330±60 BP with correction date range between 405 and 375 BC according 1 *sigma* calibration, and between 515 and 345 BC according to 2 *sigma* calibration) indicate the 4th-3rd centuries BC as the possible period of existence of the "Platform Temple". A bronze coin of the series of the "early Ḥaḍramawt imitations" of Athenian tetradrachms (type 1.1 or 1.2) was found in the top strata related to the "Level III"[75].

Unfortunately, the total absence of the epigraphic material revealed in the course of excavations doesn't allow making any assumptions which god of the Ḥaḍramawt pantheon was worshipped in the temples at Jūja. Probably some speculation could be made if we take into account two inscriptions coming, as it was said, from Jūja near Shibām. One of the inscriptions, which is now in the al-Mukallā Museum (Ǧuǧa/Musée d'al-Mukallā 1; see *Chapter 1*), contains a dedication from a certain Hiṣr to ᶜAśtar and to Sayīn (*Ḥsr/s¹qny/ᶜs³tr/w-S¹yn*), and with respect to its palaeography and the spelling of the name ᶜAśtar with *s³* it has to be correlated more with the period of functioning of the "Platform Temple" than with the existence of the preceding structure[76]. As to the second text engraved on a votive stele, which origin from Jūja is not certain, and which also mentions Sayīn, the "federal" god of the Ḥaḍramawt pantheon (RAMRAY/93 no. 1: *₁Gwr'l/mqynyhn/bn ₂[.../](h/s¹)qny/S¹yn/mṯ[3][ndhn/...]*; see *Appendix III*, no. 3), the same features allow to correlate it with the "Early Temple", probably with last phase of the temple's existence. On the other hand, according to the American scholars, «... a radical difference in plan between the Level IV and III buildings» is so that «... one can assume that there was a decisive change in the cult worship»[77].

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[75] Hansen, Ochsenschlanger, al-Radi 2004, pp. 62-63, figs. 28-31.

[76] Arbach 1997. Cf. spelling of the name ᶜAśtar with 𐩸 = *s³* instead of 𐩺 = *ṯ*. According to the late G.M. Bauer, who analysed the Raybūn epigraphic material at first hand, such changes in spelling of the name of the goddess *ᶜAth(ś)tarūm* attested considerably late, at his phase IV which roughly corresponds with our "Late Raybūn" period (see Bauer 1995, pp. 125-126).

[77] Hansen, Ochsenschlanger, al-Radi 2004, p. 49.

9. SETTLEMENTS IN THE WĀDĪ ᶜIDIM

Ancient monuments in the Wādī ᶜIdim were explored by different scholars including H. von Wissmann[78], G. Lankester Harding[79], the reconnaissance team of the Smithsonian Institution[80] and the French[81] and Russian[82] Archaeological Missions. Ancient temples, both *intra muros* and *extra muros*, were recorded at least at two ancient settlements.

Al-MASHGHA SETTLEMENT

The settlement lies in the centre of the Wādī ᶜIdim, in close vicinity to its bed (*fig. 58*). Remains of ancient irrigation structures were discovered on the surrounding territory.

Intra muros *temple* - The ruins of a very badly destroyed mud-brick building constructed on a massive stone foundation were discovered a few meters to the north of the settlement, almost on its outskirts. Apparently, the *intra muros* temple was once situated there.

Extra muros *temple* - The ruins of one more structure representing, no doubt, the *extra muros* temple were found on the wadi slope to the west (?) of the settlement (*fig. 59*). The sanctuary stood roughly in the centre of a fenced horizontal terrace measuring *c.* 24.0x25.0 m. A single-flight staircase leading to the top of the terrace from the foot of the wadi slope was constructed close to its south-eastern corner.

Another staircase running to the north-west was traced in the middle of the northern wall surrounded the terrace. The sanctuary itself was built above the stone platform, *c.* 7.0x10.0 m in size, oriented along the east-west axis. The entrance to the building was from the east, where a porch with, probably, a four-column portico was constructed against the eastern side of the stone platform or socle. Remains of a podium, 1.9x2.1 m in size, were clearly visible in the interior of the central hall located against the middle part of its western wall, opposite to the entrance. There were remains of additional rooms behind the socle of the sanctuary, in the northern part of the terrace.

SŪNA SETTLEMENT

The complex of ancient monuments, which includes a settlement, a cave-necropolis and an *extra muros* temple, is situated a few km to the south-east of the al-Mashgha settlement, not far from the modern village Sūna, at the foot of the western slope of the Wādī ᶜIdim (*fig. 60*). Two buildings identified as temples were discovered at the ancient settlement and on the wadi slope north-west of the cave-necropolis.

Intra muros *temple* - The so-called "structure L", located on the western outskirts of the settlement, could be considered as the *intra muros* temple. According to the description of J.-F.

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[78] Wissmann, Höfner 1952, pp. 132-136; Wissmann 1968, pp. 31-32.
[79] Lankester Harding 1964, pp. 40-42.
[80] Van Beek, Cole, Jamme 1964, pp. 537-539.
[81] Breton 1980; 1980a; Breton *et al.* 1982.
[82] Sedov, as-Sāqqāf 1992.

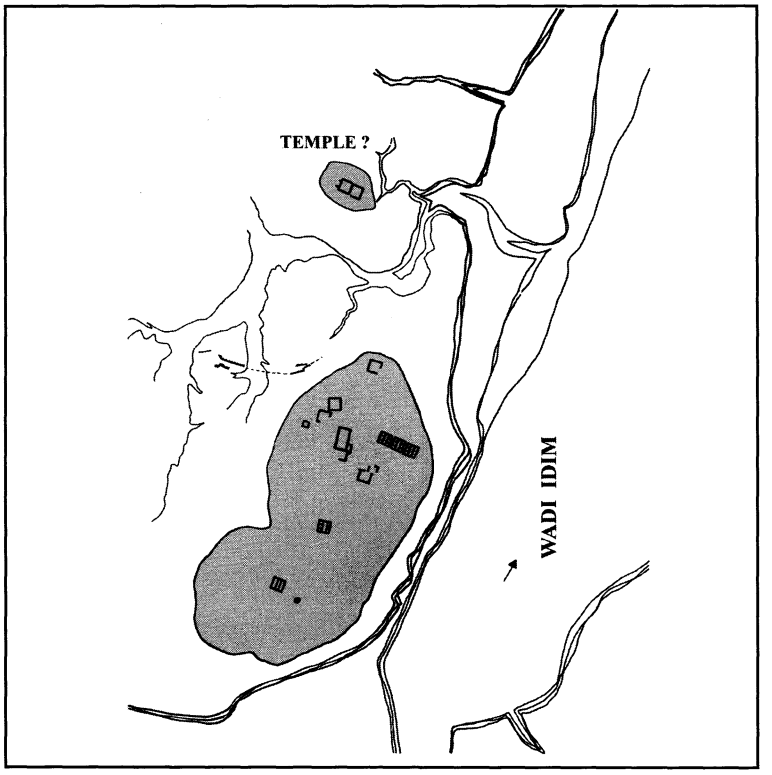

Figure 58. Al-Mashgha settlement, sketch plan (after Breton et al. *1982, p. 59, pl. I).*

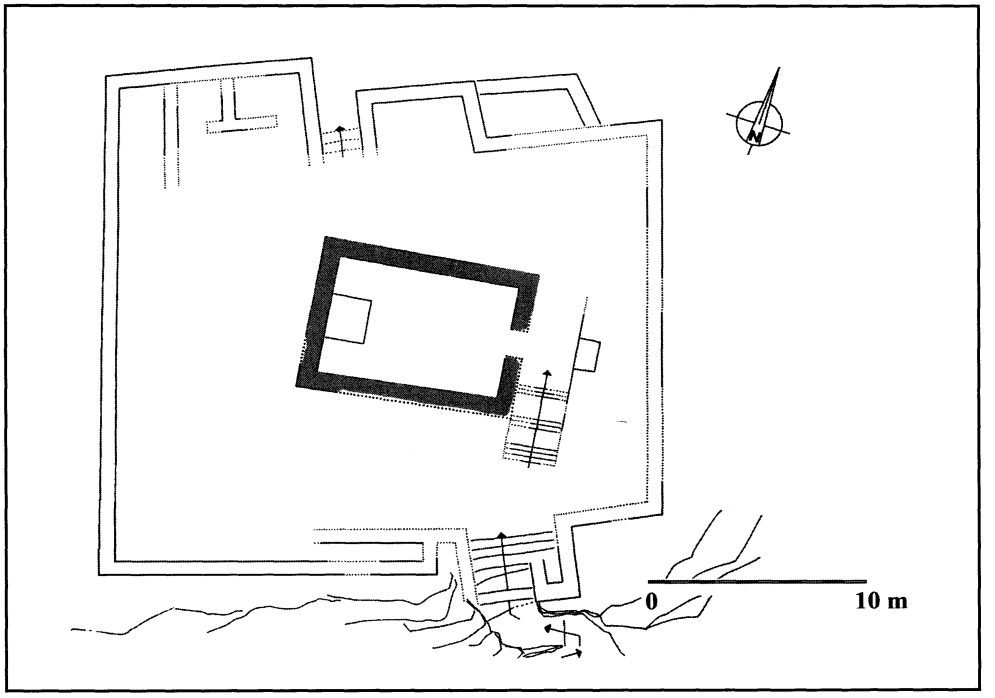

Figure 59. Al-Mashgha, extra muros *temple, general plan (after Breton* et al. *1982, p. 65, pl. II).*

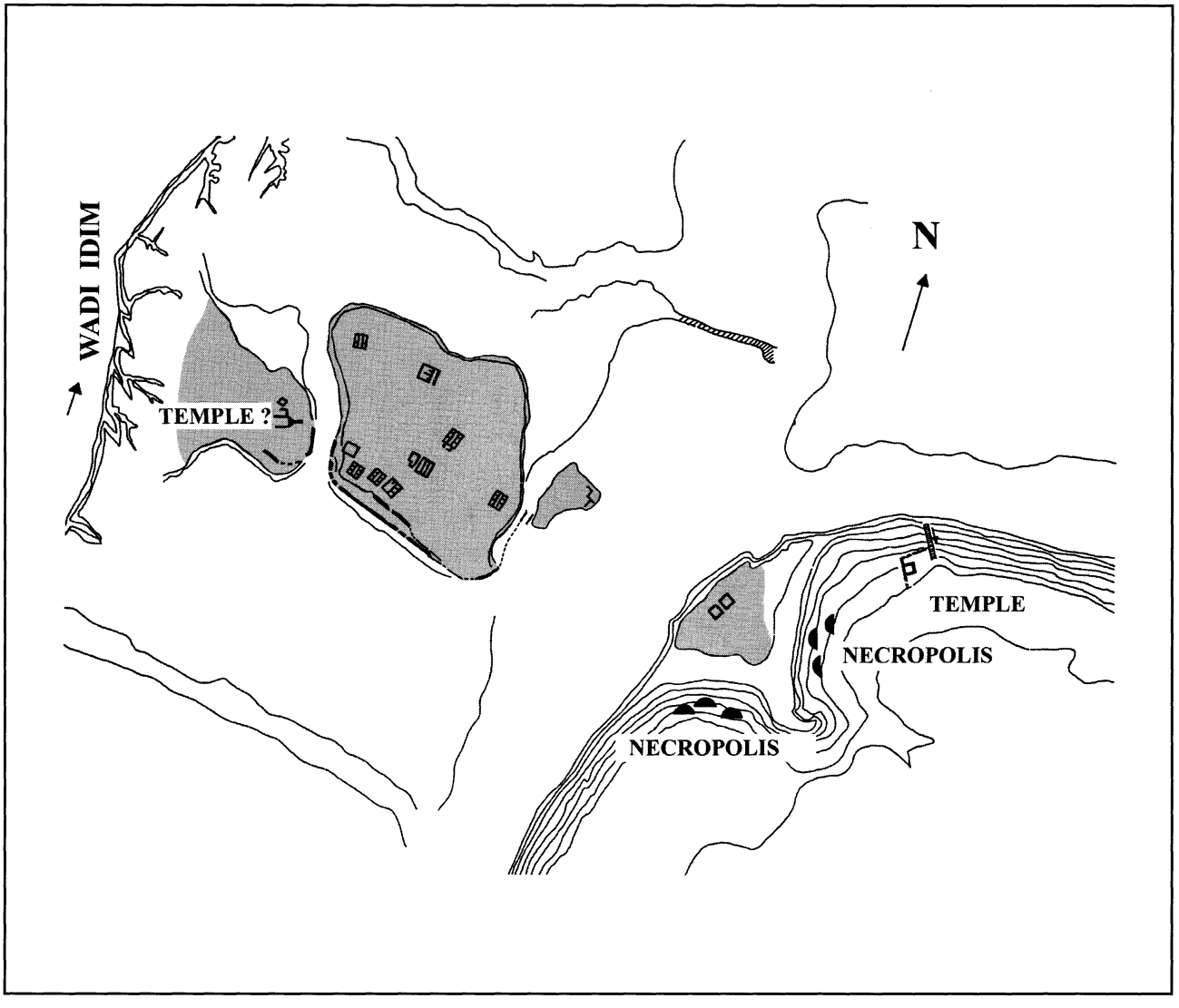

Figure 60. Sūna settlement, sketch plan (after Breton et al. *1982, p. 60, pl. II with additions by A. Sedov).*

Breton, «... the axial stairway leads to a small landing with four limestone bases (a portico - *A.S.*), whence one enters the cella following the same axis»[83].

The limestone incense-burner bearing votive inscription (SŪNA/79/L/1) was discovered in the ruins of the structure. It seems quite probable that the large fragment of offering table with incised dedication mentioning Sayīn dhū-Mishwar (RES 4182=Ingrams 6=Ry 620=Nami 80) was also picked up in the ruins of the above-mentioned building (see above *Chapter 1*). If this is correct, the epithet of the "federal" Ḥaḍrami god could be considered as the name of the *intra muros* temple discovered at the Sūna settlement.

Extra muros *temple* - The temple is located to the east of the settlement on the slope of the wadi

[83] Breton 1980, p. 11, note 7.

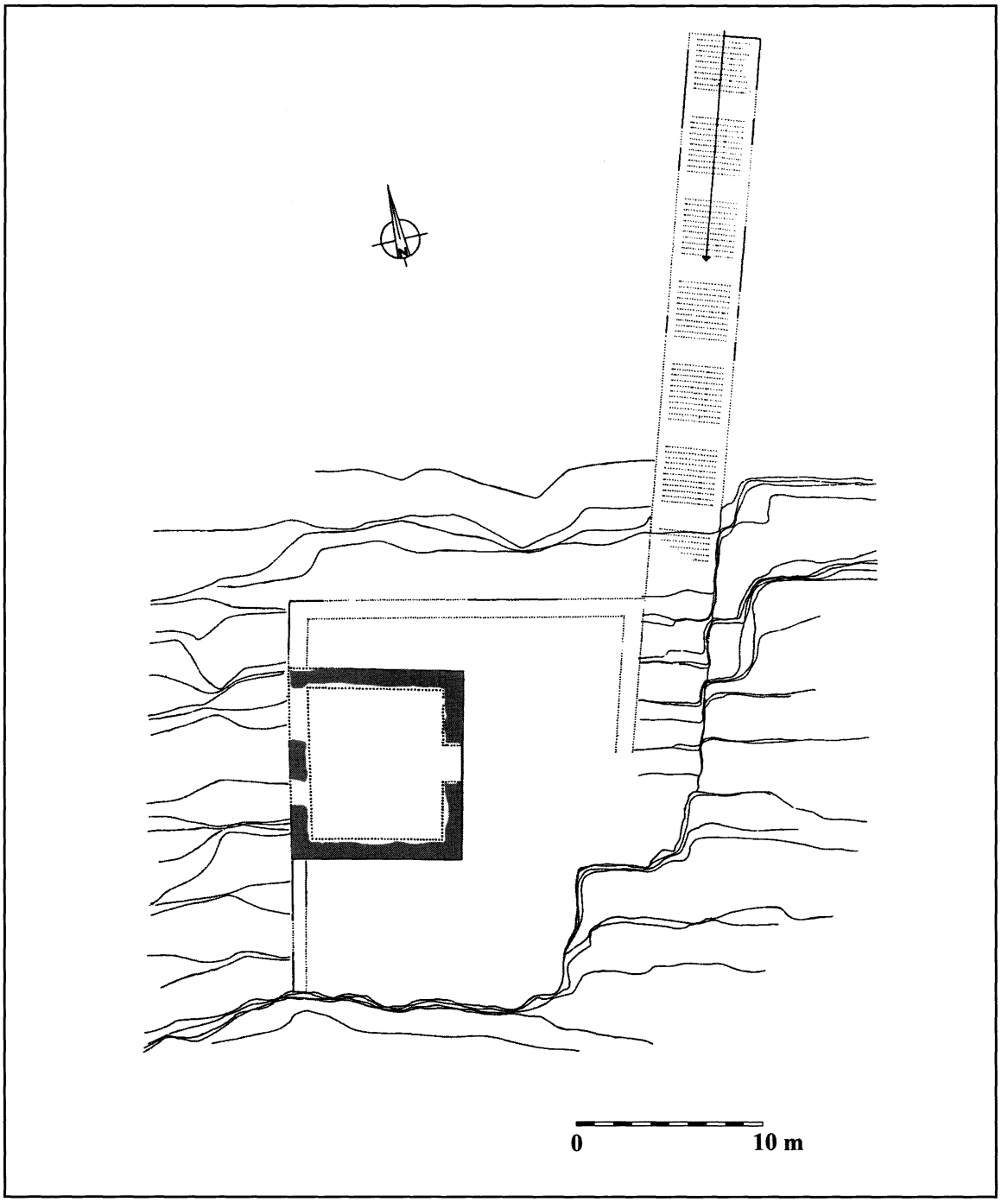

Figure 61. Sūna, extra muros *temple, general plan (after Breton* et al. *1982, p. 64, pl. I).*

occupied with cave-necropolis (*fig. 61*). The staircase leading to the horizontal terrace from the foot of the slope was *c.* 30 m long and *c.* 4.0 m wide. The terrace measures 19.0x22.0 m. Ruins of the building with entrance from the east, apparently a sanctuary, *c.* 9.0x10.0 m in size, were discovered in the western part of the terrace.

10. AL-ḤAJAR

The complex of archaeological monuments known now as al-Ḥajar is situated along the eastern slope of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt running in this area in a north-south direction *c.* 20 km east of Tarīm and *c.* 3 km north of the modern village of ᶜĪnāt. The complex consisting of a settlement, triangular in layout covering the area *c.* 225x375 m in size, a cave-necropolis occupied the wadi slope west of the settlement, an *extra muros* temple built on the same slope in a few dozen meters east of the necropolis and ruins of irrigation constructions discovered close to the settlement (*fig. 62*). The French Archaeological Mission to the Republic of Yemen first recorded the settlement and temple in 1979 under the name al-Haǧra[84].

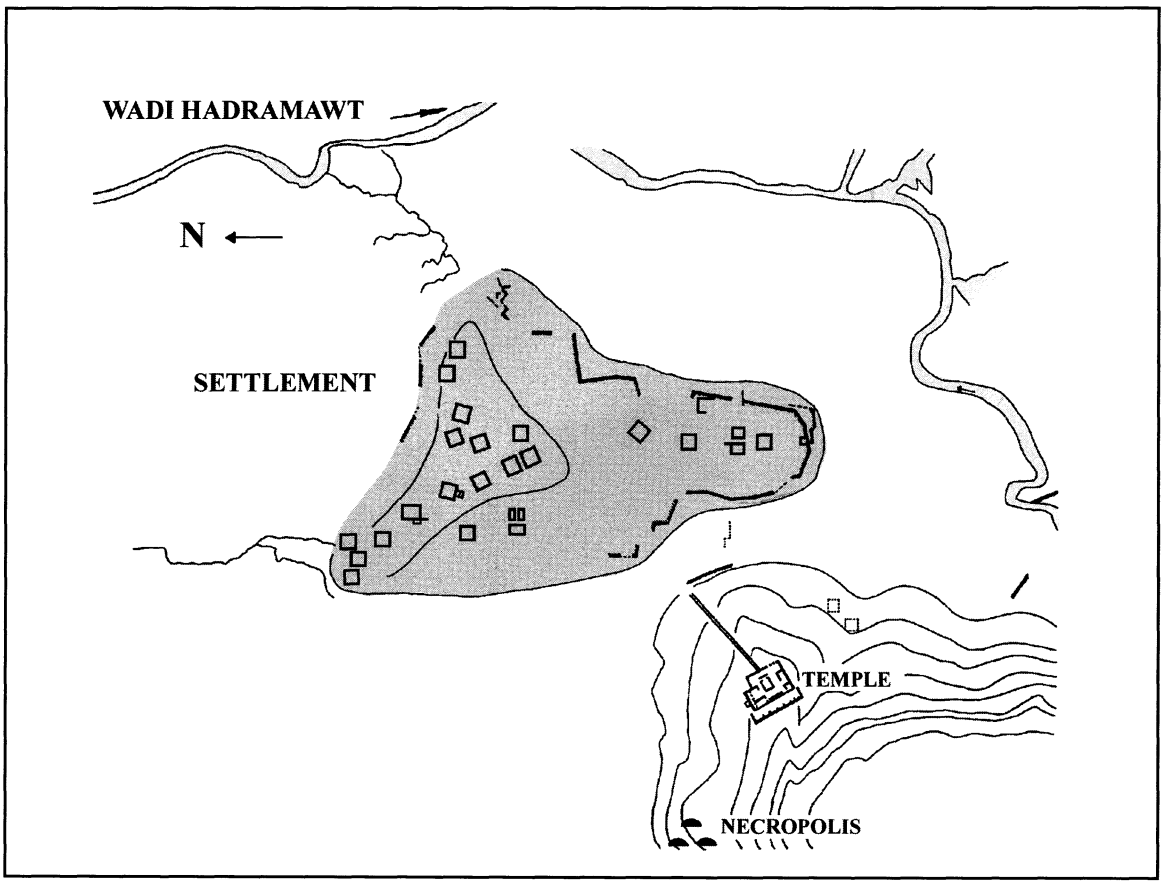

Figure 62. Al-Ḥajar settlement, sketch plan (after Breton et al. *1982, p. 62, pl. IV with additions by A. Sedov).*

[84] Breton 1980; 1980a, p. 69, figs. 3, 5; Breton *et al.* 1982, pp. 16-21, 62; pl. IV.

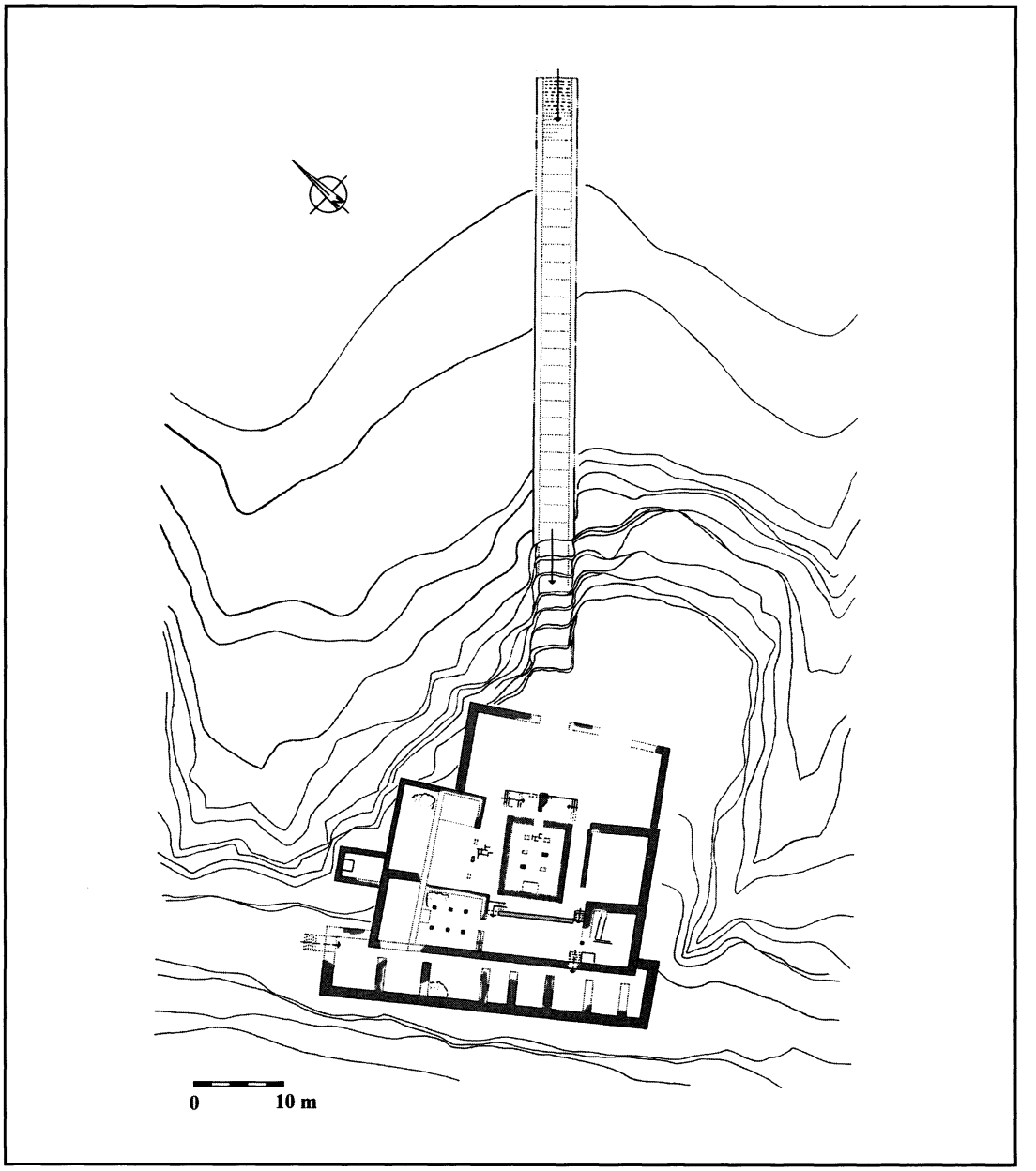

Figure 63. Al-Ḥajar, extra muros *temple, general plan (after Breton* et al. *1982, p. 66, pl. III).*

Extra muros *temple* - The temple complex located on the wadi slope south-west of al-Ḥajar settlement was constructed on several stone platforms arranged into a kind of stepped terrace (*fig. 63*; see *pl. XLI*, 1). An approximate dimensions of the entire unit enclosed within stone walls is *c.* 35x36 m. A monumental staircase (see *pl. XLI*, 2) with a parapet along both sides, *c.* 68 m long and 4.8 m wide, run from the foot of the hill to the top of the first step of terrace with a building, apparently a sanctuary, in its centre. The building with mud-brick (?) walls was built on a stone socle, *c.* 7.0x9.0 m in size. A porch with single-flight staircases running from north-west and south-east adjoins the

north-west side of the socle. A four-column portico once marking the entrance to the building was constructed on the top of the porch (one stone base from the pillars still preserved *in situ*). The core of the building was a hypostyle hall divided by two rows of columns, three columns in each row, into three naves. A rectangular podium, 1.6x2.1 m in size, was built against the south-eastern wall of the building opposite the entrance.

Ruins of two more buildings are situated behind the sanctuary, on the second step of the terrace connected with the lower one by two short staircases, *c.* 1.0 m wide. Six pillars arranged into two rows once supported a roof of one of the buildings, apparently a refectory, situated in the north-eastern corner of the complex. An entrance to the building was from the south-west, from the paved square, *c.* 4.0x7.5 m in size. The third step of the terrace situated further up on the slope was occupied by a row of small adjacent rooms with wide openings towards the north-east. Remains of additional structures could be traced along the edges and outside of the first step of the terrace.

Fragments of fine polished limestone facing slabs with parts of votive inscriptions were picked up in the ruins of structures (see *Appendix III*, nos. 8-11). The content of two of them (RAMRY-94/ Haj no. 2 and no. 4) enable identification of the god worshipped in the temple – Sayīn. Unfortunately, his epithet, which might indicate the temple's name, remained unknown.

11. QĀRAT QIBḌA

The complex of ancient monuments consisting of a settlement, a cave-necropolis and an *extra muros* temple is situated along the northern slope of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, in *c.* 500 m east of the modern

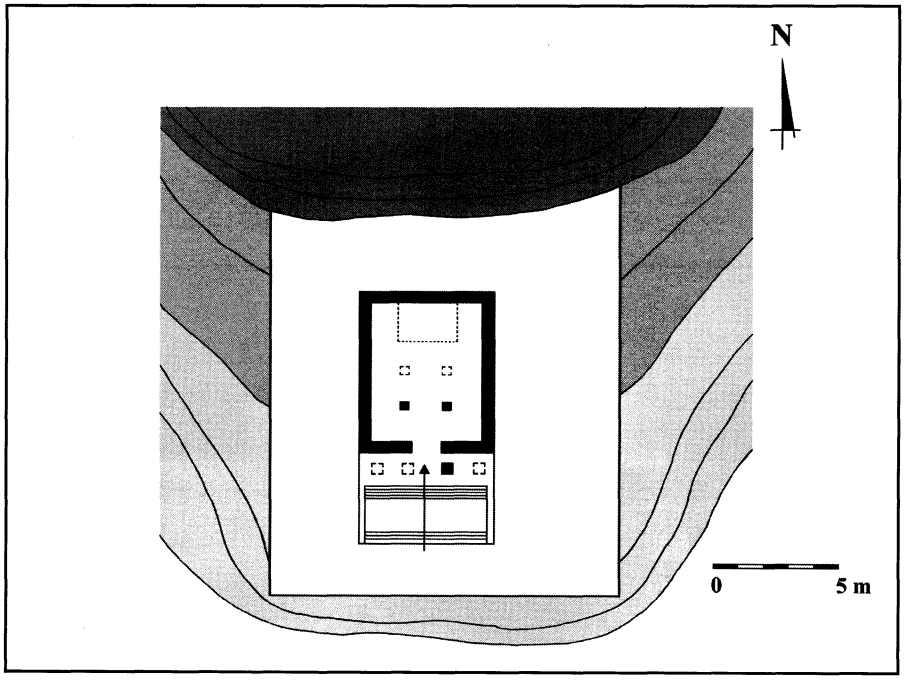

Figure 64. Qārat Qibḍa, extra muros *temple, sketch plan with elements of reconstruction (drawing by A. Sedov).*

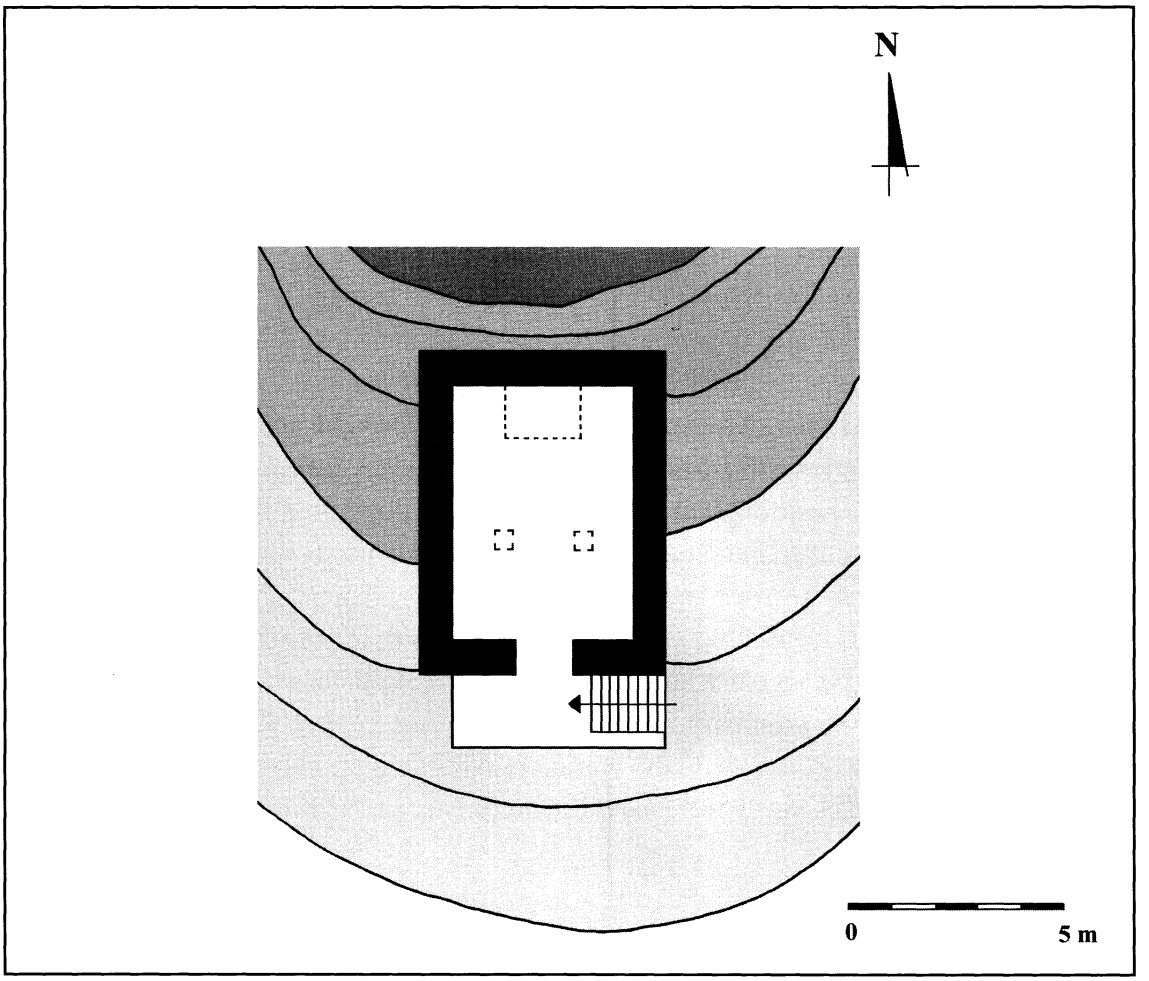

Figure 65. Ḥuṣn al-ʿUrr, extra muros *temple, sketch plan with elements of reconstruction (drawing by A. Sedov).*

village of al-Ḥon. A strongly fortified settlement occupied the top of a huge rock with dimensions of about 70-90x300-350 m and *c.* 12 m high, located in *c.* 300 m from the foot of the wadi slope.

Extra muros *temple* - The structure discovered on the slope of the wadi *c.* 300 m east of the settlement stood amidst an ancient cave-necropolis (*fig. 64*). The building was erected in the centre of a stone platform or terrace, *c.* 14.0x16.0 m in size, constructed in *c.* 5.0 m from the foot of the wadi's slope. A socle of the building measures 5.5x6.5 m, and is about 1.1 m high. Its orientation is north-south. A porch with a four-column portico, *c.* 1.5 m wide, was constructed against the southern side of the socle (only one stone base, 0.35x0.4 m in size, was preserved *in situ*). A wide two-flight staircase running north-south led to the portico from the terrace. The flights were separated by a square, 1.5 m wide. Ruins of a hypostyle hall with four pillars (only two of them preserved *in situ*) arranged in two rows and dividing the hall into three naves were traced above the socle. Remains of a podium, 1.5x2.5 m in size, are clearly visible against the central part of the northern wall opposite the entrance to the sanctuary.

12. ḤUṢN AL-ᶜURR

The ancient fortress Ḥuṣn al-ᶜUrr is located eastward from Tarīm, between the modern villages of al-Ḥon and as-Saum. It stands on the summit of commanding rock outcrop in the middle of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, north of the flood course. Remains of extensive water-control systems were found in the area surrounding the site[85]. It is not clear whether the small *extra muros* temple described below constituted a single complex with the fortress or whether it belonged to a small ancient settlement discovered in the mouth of the neighbouring Wādī Djab located in *c.* 2.0 km east-north-east of Ḥuṣn al-ᶜUrr.

Extra muros *temple* - Ruins of a small building, which could be considered as an *extra muros* temple, were discovered on the wadi slope 1.5 km north-east of the fortress (*fig. 65*; see *pl. XLII*, 1). The mud-brick structure was built *c.* 4.0 m from the foot of the slope. Its stone socle measures 5.7x7.6 m, and is about 1.5 m high at the southern side. Its orientation is north-south. A one-flight staircase, 1.7 m wide, running west-east led to a rather narrow porch constructed against the southern side of the socle. The sanctuary was accessible through the entrance, *c.* 1.3 m wide, located in its southern wall. Apparently, only two pillars, of which remains of their stone bases can be traced in the ruins, once supported the roof of the sanctuary. A podium, 1.2x1.7 m in size, was constructed against the middle part of the northern wall opposite the entrance. A limited number of fragments of limestone slabs once faced the mud-brick walls were found scattered above the ruins of the temple.

13. MAKAYNŪN

The settlement, *c.* 350x450 m in size, probably the largest one in the eastern part of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, is situated in the centre of the wadi, *c.* 1.0 km west of the modern village as-Saum (*fig. 66*). H. von Wissmann, who even provided the publication with a sketch plan of the ruins, first recorded it[86]. Since 2002 the French Archaeological Mission to the Republic of Yemen under the direction of Dr. M. Mouton has explored the site. In addition to the settlement, an *extra muros* temple[87] and a cave-necropolis were discovered on the neighbouring wadi slope to the north-east of the site.

Intra muros *temple* - The *intra muros* temple lies on the eastern outskirts of the settlement (see *pl. XLII*, 2). It was constructed on a stone platform, *c.* 15x17 m in size and more than 2.0 m high, built from massive stone blocks.

It seems that similar to other *intra muros* temples discovered in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt (Raḥbān at the Raybūn I settlement and Madhabūm at the settlement near al-Ḥureyḍa), the Makaynūn temple faced not towards the urban quarters but outwards from the settlement, in this case towards the east:

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[85] Wissmann, Höfner 1952, pp. 136-139; Lankester Harding 1964, pp. 43-44; Doe 1971, pp. 241-244; Keall 1995.

[86] Wissmann, Höfner 1952, pp. 139-140; fig. 18 («Burg und Stadt el-Mekeinūn»); see also Lankester Harding 1964, p. 43; Doe 1971, pp. 242-243.

[87] Breton 1980; Breton *et al.* 1982, p. 68, pl. V.

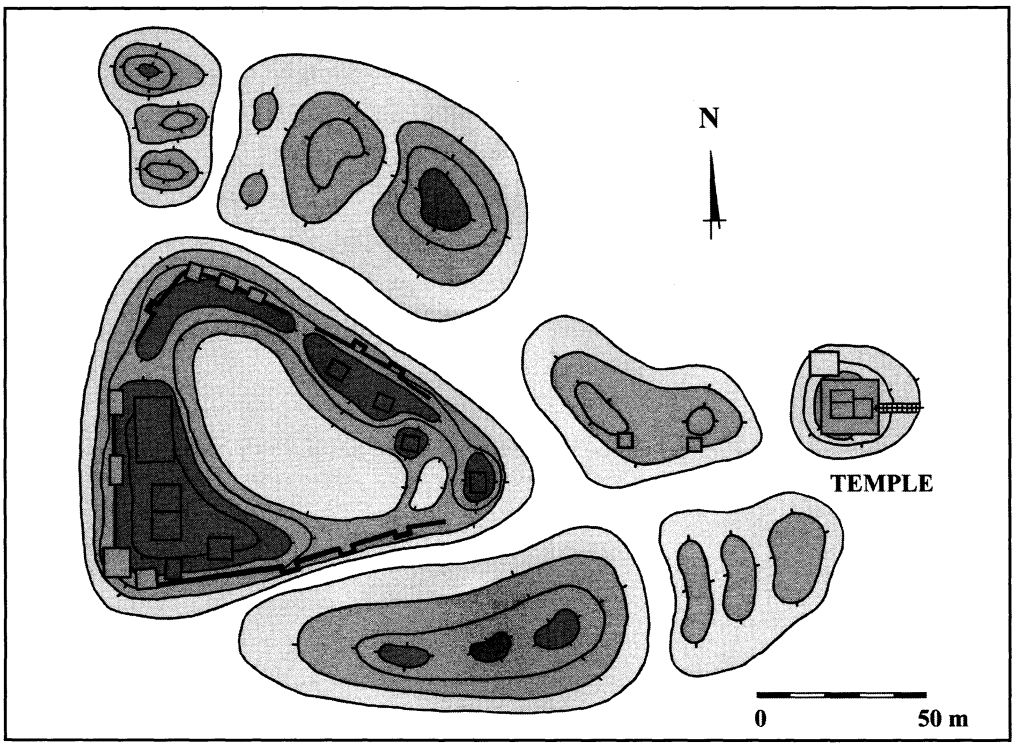

Figure 66. Settlement of Makaynūn, sketch plan (drawing by A. Sedov).

a two-flight staircase running to the top of the platform was constructed against its eastern side. The ruins of a building, apparently a sanctuary, occupied the top of the platform. Unfortunately, it was so badly destroyed that it is hard to determine the details of its constructions and even a general layout. The second platform also with remains of a very much-destroyed structure was built adjacent to the north-western corner of the first one.

According to the local inhabitants a complete bronze figurine of a standing bull, roughly 35x25 cm in size, used, probably, as a pedestal for a votive stele or tablet with dedicative inscription mounted in a square hole in the bull's back, was found in the ruins of these structures[88]. They showed also a fragment of a limestone facing slab with part of the dedicatory inscription engraved on it (RAMRY/94-Mak no. 1; see *Appendix III*, no. 12).

Extra muros *temple* - The temple is located on the wadi slope 1.5 km north-east of the settlement, near the cave-necropolis (*fig. 67*). A trapezoidal terrace or platform, *c.* 12.0-21.0x29.0 m in size and *c.* 3.0 m high at its western side, was constructed about 15-18 m from the foot of the slope. A monumental staircase with parapets on both sides leading to the terrace from the foot of the wadi slope is *c.* 65 m long and 5.0 m wide (see *pl. XLIII*, 1). The sanctuary lies roughly in the centre of the terrace (see *pl. XLIII*, 2). It was a mud-brick building constructed on a stone socle, 7.5x9.0 m in size and *c.* 1.5 m high. An asymmetrical porch, 4.0x6.1-6.7 m in size, was built adjacent to the western side of the socle.

[88] Unfortunately, we were not been allowed to take a photo of the object.

An L-shaped staircase, *c.* 1.2-1.3 m wide, led to the top of the porch from the west. The entrance to the building was probably designed as a four-column portico, which once stood on the porch. The entrance itself, *c.* 1.7 wide, was constructed in the centre of the western wall of the building. It led to a hypostyle hall, 6.0x7.6 m in size, the floor of which was paved with fine polished limestone slabs. Six pillars arranged in two rows once supported the roof of the hall and divided it into three naves (only three stone bases, 0.3x0.35 m in size and 0.3 m high, preserved *in situ*). A rectangular podium, 1.8x2.4 m in size, was built against the middle part of the eastern wall opposite to the entrance. There are the remains of some light structures behind the socle of the sanctuary, to the east of it.

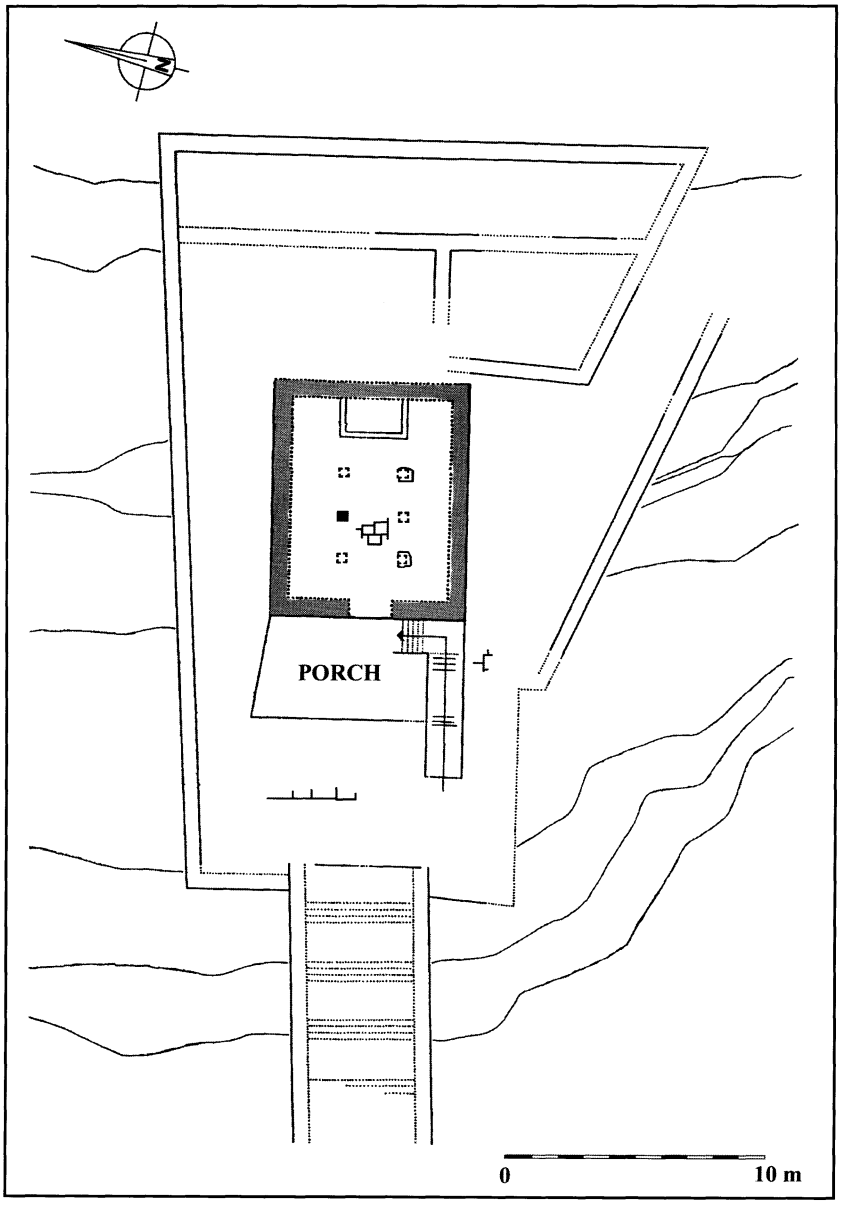

Figure 67. Makaynūn, extra muros *temple, general plan (after Breton* et al. *1982, p. 68, pl. V).*

14. AZ-ZĀLIF

The complex of archaeological monuments az-Zālif is situated *c.* 7 km to the east of the modern village of as-Saum, at the junction of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt and Wādī Satim (*fig. 68*). It consists of two settlements, two *extra muros* temples and ruins of irrigation constructions (dam and sluice).

AZ-ZĀLIF 1 SETTLEMENT

The unfortified settlement is located along the foot of the northern slope of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt (*fig. 69*). Its south-western part forms a mound, *c.* 50x100 m in size and *c.* 5.0 m high. Ruins of about a dozen mud-brick houses constructed above stone foundations are visible on the surface. The north-eastern part of the settlement, stretching roughly 250-300 m along the slope, is amorphous and rather low due to the modern agricultural activity at the area. At least three stone foundations of mud-brick buildings can be traced in this part of the settlement. Pottery collected from the surface of the site has parallels in the material from the Raybūn I settlement in the lower reaches of Wādī Dawᶜan.

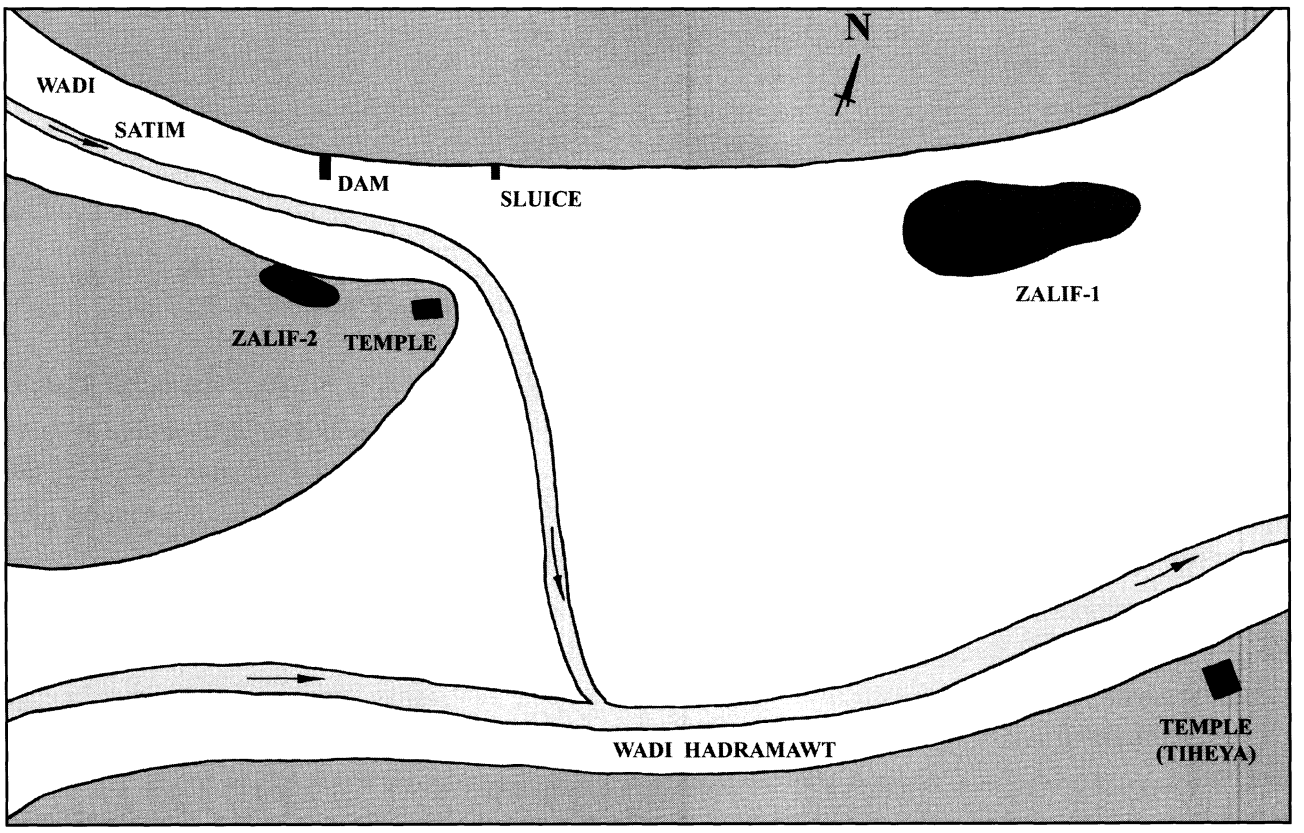

Figure 68. Complex az-Zālif, sketch plan (drawing by A. Sedov). No scale.

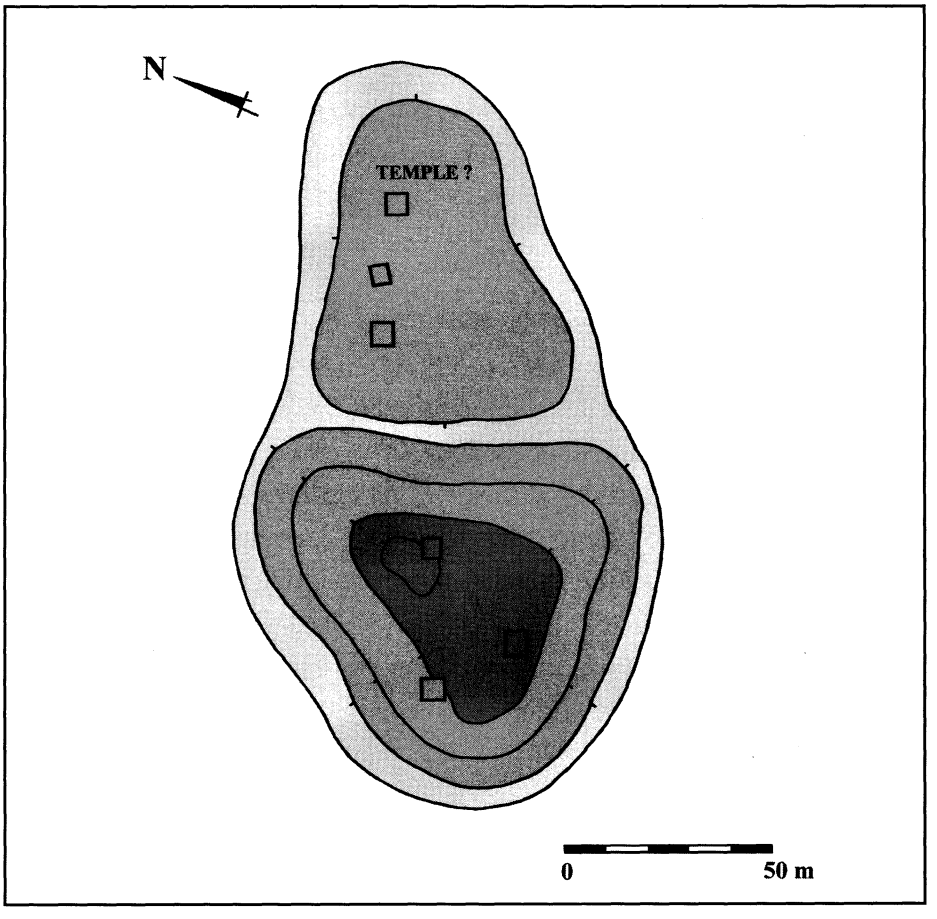

Figure 69. Az-Zālif 1 settlement, sketch plan (drawing by A. Sedov).

Intra muros *temple* - Ruins of a mud-brick structure built on a stone socle in the north-eastern extremity of the site could be an *intra muros* temple. Local farmers found two limestone incense-burners and a complete limestone facing slab with part of dedicative inscription engraved on it in the ruins. The content of the inscription (RAMRY/94-az-Zālif 1 no. 1; see *Appendix III*, no. 4) identifies the ruins as the temple of Sayīn, the "federal" god of the Ḥaḍramawt pantheon.

Extra muros *temple (Tiheya)* - A complex of structures situated to the south-east of the az-Zālif 1 settlement on the opposite, southern slope of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, in the area called Tiheya, could be identified as an *extra muros* temple (*fig. 70*). Three platforms or terraces were constructed on the wadi slope *c.* 10-15 m from its foot. Unfortunately, the structures constituting the complex are badly preserved. An L-shaped staircase leads from the foot of the slope to the lower terrace, *c.* 6.0x8.0 m in size. Apparently, a four-column propylon marking the entrance to the sacred territory was once situated on the terrace. The second staircase, *c.* 2.0 m wide, connects the lower terrace and a square, *c.* 7.0x20.0 m in size, occupied the middle terrace. Another L-shaped staircase constructed in the south-eastern corner of the square leads to the third or upper terrace with ruins of two adjoining buildings. The eastern building, apparently a sanctuary, had a porch, 3.0x6.0 m in size, with a four-column portico built against its northern side.

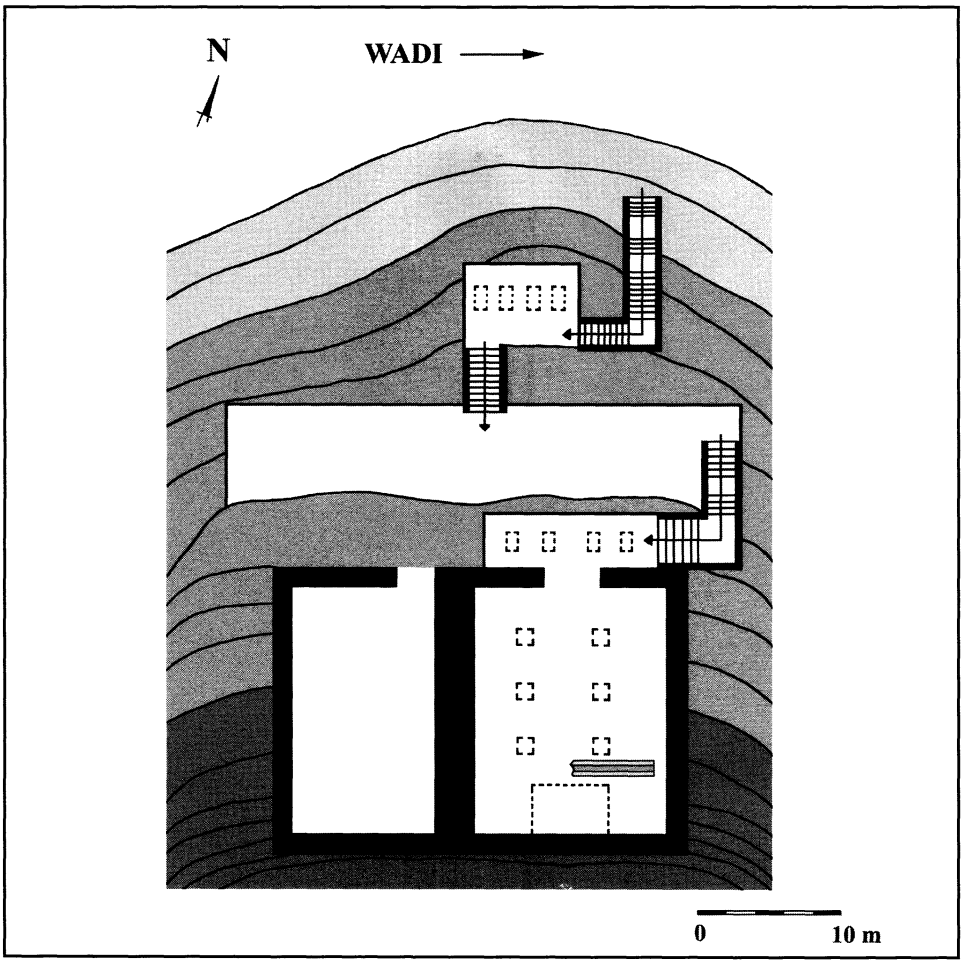

Figure 70. Az-Zālif 1 (Tiheya), extra muros *temple, sketch plan with elements of reconstruction (drawing by A. Sedov).*

The core of the building was a hypostyle hall, 8.0x12.0 m in size, with traces of six pillars arranged into two rows, which divided the hall into three naves. Remains of a podium were discovered against the central part of the southern wall opposite the entrance. A fragment of a long stone gutter from an offering table mounted into the floor of the hall was found in front of the podium. The dimensions of the western building with the entrance in its north-eastern corner are 6.0x12.0 m (apparently it served as a refectory).

AZ-ZĀLIF 2 SETTLEMENT

The settlement is situated in the mouth of the Wādī Satim, at the foot of its southern slope. Ruins of several buildings were scattered on the area, *c.* 30x90 m in size.

Extra muros *temple* - Ruins of the *extra muros* temple occupied a small promontory *c.* 150 m east of the settlement (*fig. 71*). The building constructed on a horizontal terrace about 5.0 m from the foot of the slope was almost completely destroyed.

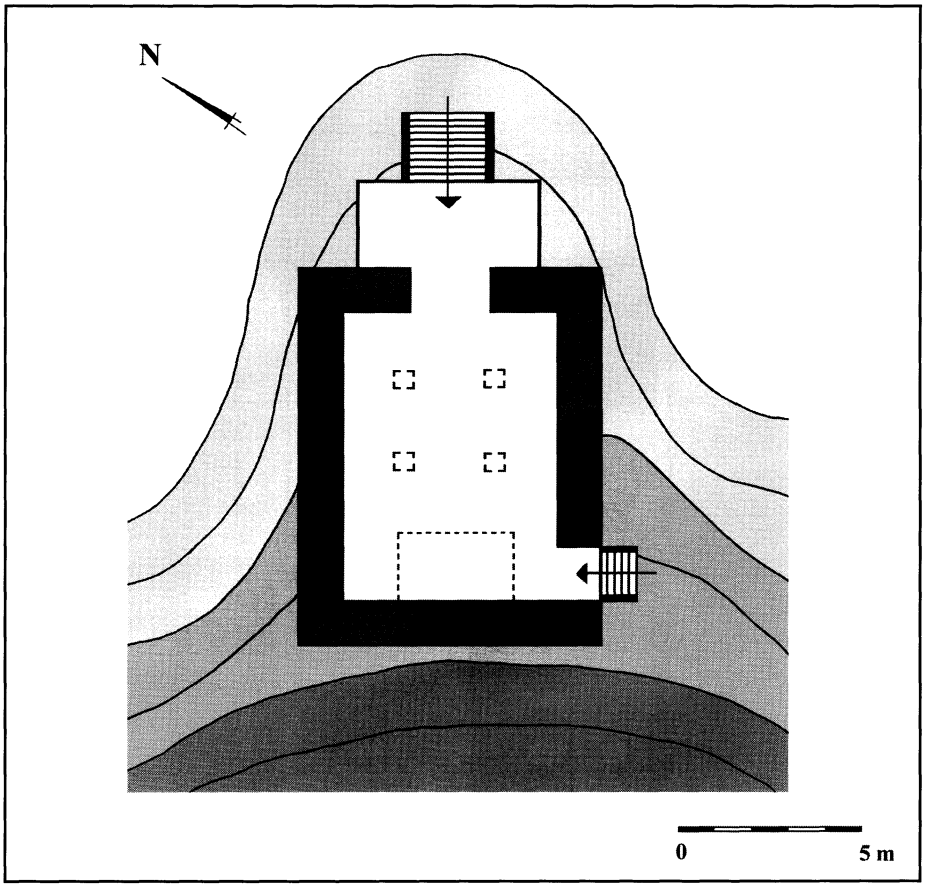

Figure 71. Az-Zālif 2, extra muros *temple, sketch plan with elements of reconstruction (drawing by A. Sedov).*

Only a stone platform or socle, *c.* 8.3x10.3 m in size and 0.5 m high, with the remains of stone walls above it was preserved. A one-flight staircase, *c.* 2.5 m wide, was built against the north-eastern side of the building leading to a kind of porch in front of the temple's main entrance. One more additional entrance to the building, 1.5 m wide, was located in its south-western corner. Remains of another staircase are also visible there. Traces of stone bases for four pillars once supported the roof were discovered in the centre of the building's interior. Remains of a podium were traced against the central part of the south-western wall of the building opposite the main entrance. Fragments of polished limestone facing slabs were scattered in the ruins of the structure.

15. BĀ QUṬFA

The settlement of Bā Quṭfa lies on the northern slope of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt east of Qabr Nabī Allāh Hūd and *c.* 3-4 km north-west of the mouth of the Wādī Sāna. Ruins of about two dozen houses constructed on stone foundations are unsystematically scattered along the wadi slope *c.* 12-15 m from its foot (see *pl. XLIV*, 1-2). The extension of the site is about 1 km from east to west. The French

Archaeological Mission to the Republic of Yemen under the direction of J.-F. Breton excavated a small *intra muros* temple located in the eastern part of the settlement in 1979[89].

Temple of Sayīn dhū-Ḥalsum - The temple was built in the centre of a stone platform or terrace of irregular shape, *c.* 11.5x16.0-18.0 m in size, constructed on the wadi slope (*fig. 72*). A stone wall protecting the temple, probably, from landslides was constructed further up on the slope. A monumental staircase, 16.6 m long and 3.1 m wide, runs to the top of the platform from the foothill. The beginning of the staircase was arranged into a kind of entrance, only 1.7 m wide, and several of its flight-stairs were separated by landings.

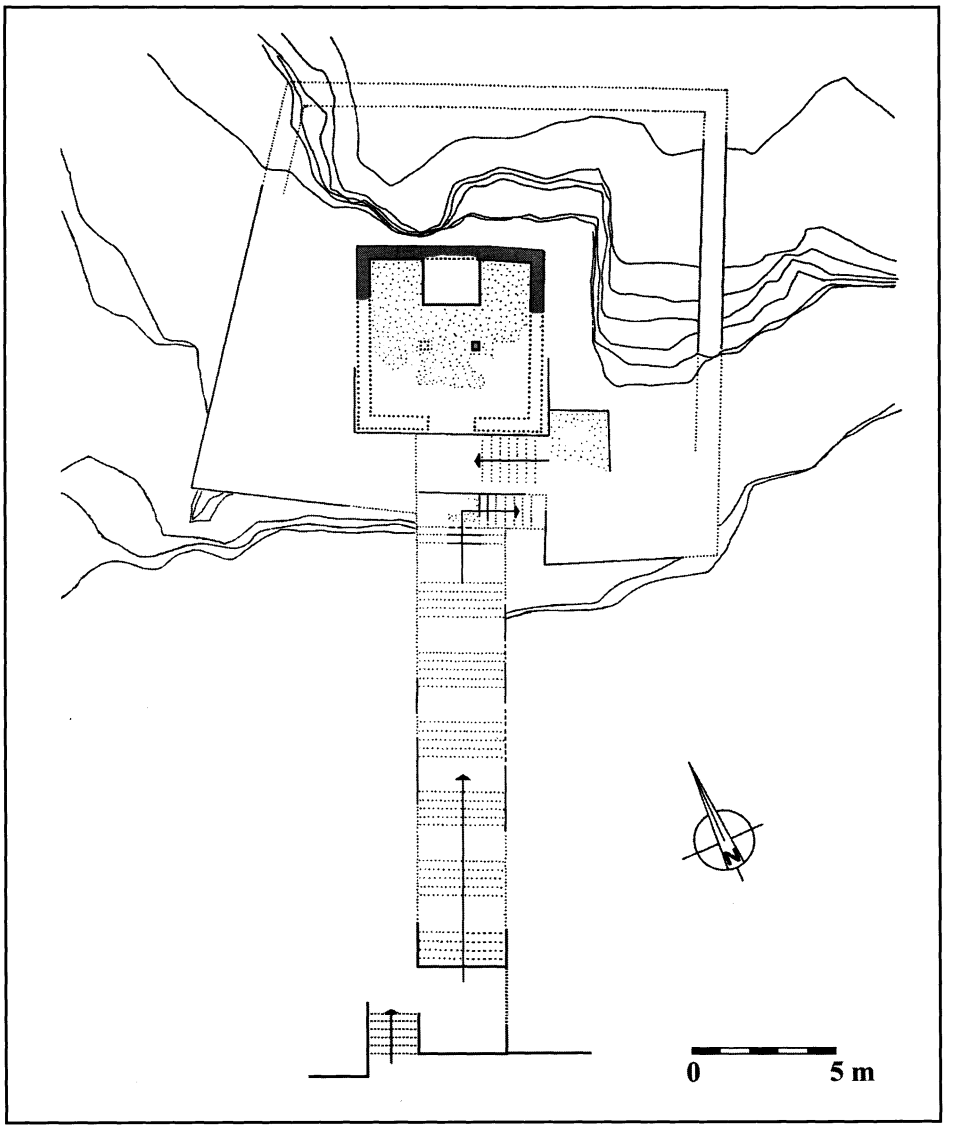

Figure 72. Bā Quṭfa temple, general plan (after Breton et al. *1982, p. 72, pl. IX).*

[89] Breton 1979; 1980; Pirenne 1979.

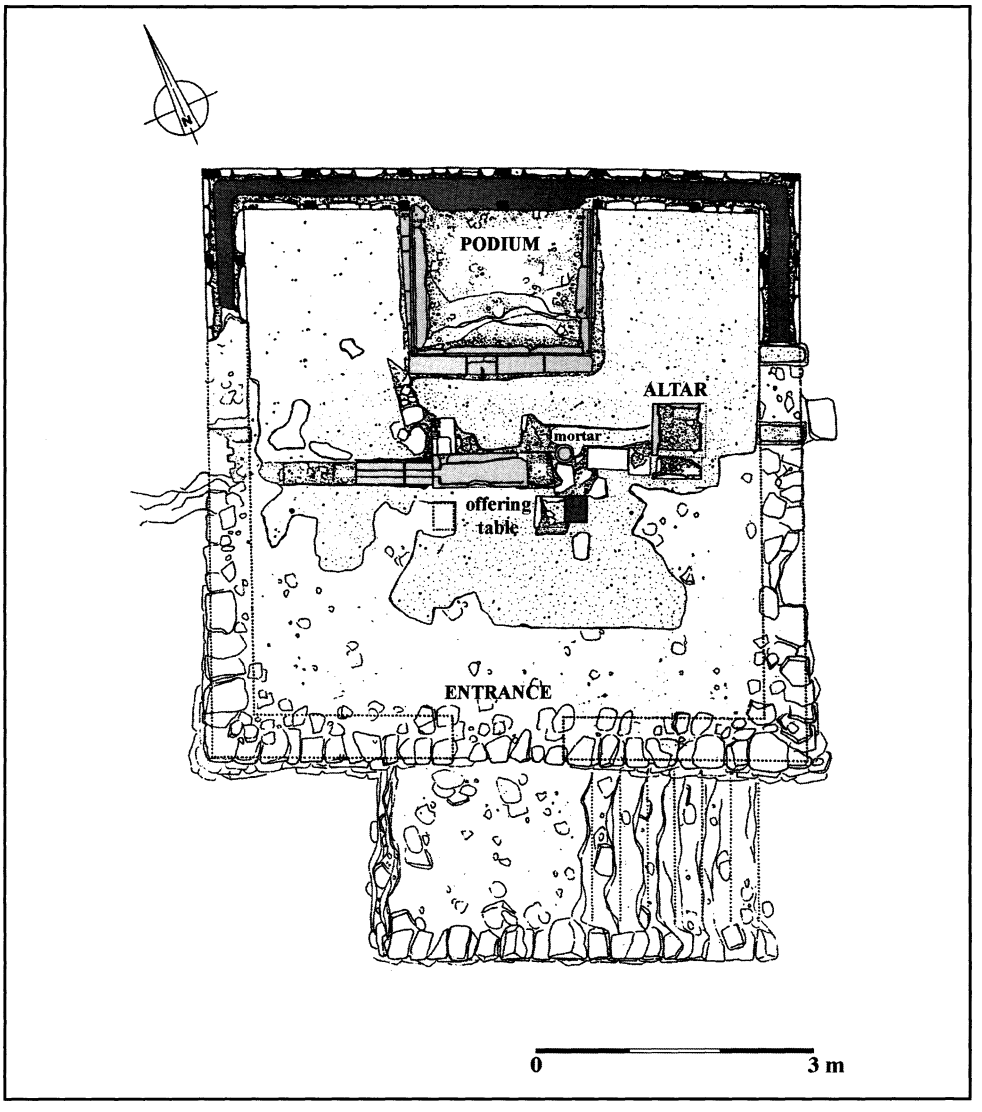

Figure 73. Bā Quṭfa temple, plan of the sanctuary (after Breton et al. *1982, p. 74, pl. XI).*

The monumental staircase ends with a narrow, *c.* 1.1 m, flight constructed perpendicular to the axis of the main staircase and led to the top of the terrace.

A square stone socle of the sanctuary measures 6.7x6.8 m (*fig. 73*). The entrance to the building was accessible through one more staircase built against the south-western façade of the socle. The staircase was 1.8 m long and 1.3 m wide, it had a parapet at its outer edge, and led to a porch, 2.2x2.2 m in size, adjoined to the socle. The entrance was 1.2 wide, and led to a square hall, 5.7x5.8 m in size. Two pillars which once supported the roof stood in the centre of the hall. Dimensions of one of its stone prismatic-shaped bases preserved *in situ* are 0.25x0.35 m; its height is 0.3 m. A podium, 1.7x2.0 m in size and 0.7 m high, was built against the middle part of the north-eastern wall of the sanctuary. The outer surface of the podium was faced by polished limestone slabs, two vertical rows of which are still preserved intact.

A stone offering table, 0.36.x1.05 m in size, with a long gutter was mounted in the floor in front of the podium. The gutter ran towards the north-western wall of the building, and was used, probably, for drainage of the remains of liquid offerings to outside the sanctuary. A shallow stone bowl or mortar and a stone altar or pedestal for incense-burner, 0.51x0.65 m in size, were also mounted into the floor of the sanctuary near the offering table. The floor of the hall, at least in some parts, was paved by stone slabs and plastered.

Fragments of facing and pavement slabs, votive stelae, parts of the supports for offering tables and/or for stelae pedestals, fragments of offering tables with spouts in the form of a bull's head and personal ornaments were found in abundance in the ruins of the excavated structure. Parts of votive inscriptions were preserved on some of the above-mentioned artefacts. In addition, the steps in the staircases were almost completely engraved with dedicative inscriptions. Altogether 86 texts, complete or fragmentary, were found during the course of the excavation, and some of them preserved the name of the god worshipped in the sanctuary, Sayīn dhū-Ḥalsum (*Sʾyn/d̲-Ḥlsʾm*). On epigraphical grounds J. Pirenne argued the following dates for the construction and existence of the sanctuary: the late 4th century BC - 1st century AD[90]. If we take into account recent studies on the chronology of South Arabian antiquities in general, and in Ḥaḍramawt in particular, the date of construction of Bā Quṭfa temple must be placed at least down to the 6th century BC[91].

16. ḤUṢN AL-QAYS

The temple complex known now as Ḥuṣn al-Qays is situated on the southern slope of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, close to the mouth of its southern tributary, the Wādī Sāna[92]. A multi-stepped terrace was constructed about 15 m from the foot of the slope (*fig. 74*; see *pl. XLV*, 1). A staircase *c.* 5.0 m wide runs from the foot of the hill to the north-western corner of the lower part of the terrace . An elevation in its centre, accessible through another staircase, *c.* 3.5 m wide, is occupied by the ruins of two buildings. One of the buildings, apparently a sanctuary, was placed on a stone socle, *c.* 8.0x 10.0 m in size. The entrance to the structure was designed as a four-column portico constructed on a porch adjoining the northern side of the socle. A single-flight staircase, *c.* 3.0 wide, led to the portico from the east. Six pillars arranged in two rows divided a hypostyle hall of the sanctuary into three naves. There are no visible remains of a podium in the hall, but we can assume that similarly to other buildings it was constructed against the wall opposite the entrance. The ruins of another building are situated on the same elevation to the north-west of the sanctuary.

Its stone socle measures 9.0x9.0 m. An entrance, *c.* 1.1 m wide, was constructed in the centre of the eastern wall of the building. Twelve pillars arranged in four rows once supported a roof of the construction.

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[90] Pirenne 1979.

[91] Cf., for instance, the first and very brief comparative analyses of epigraphical styles of inscriptions from Raybūn and Bā Quṭfa made by the late Bauer (Bauer 1989; 1995).

[92] Breton 1980; Breton *et al.* 1982, pp. 16-21, 69; pl. VI.

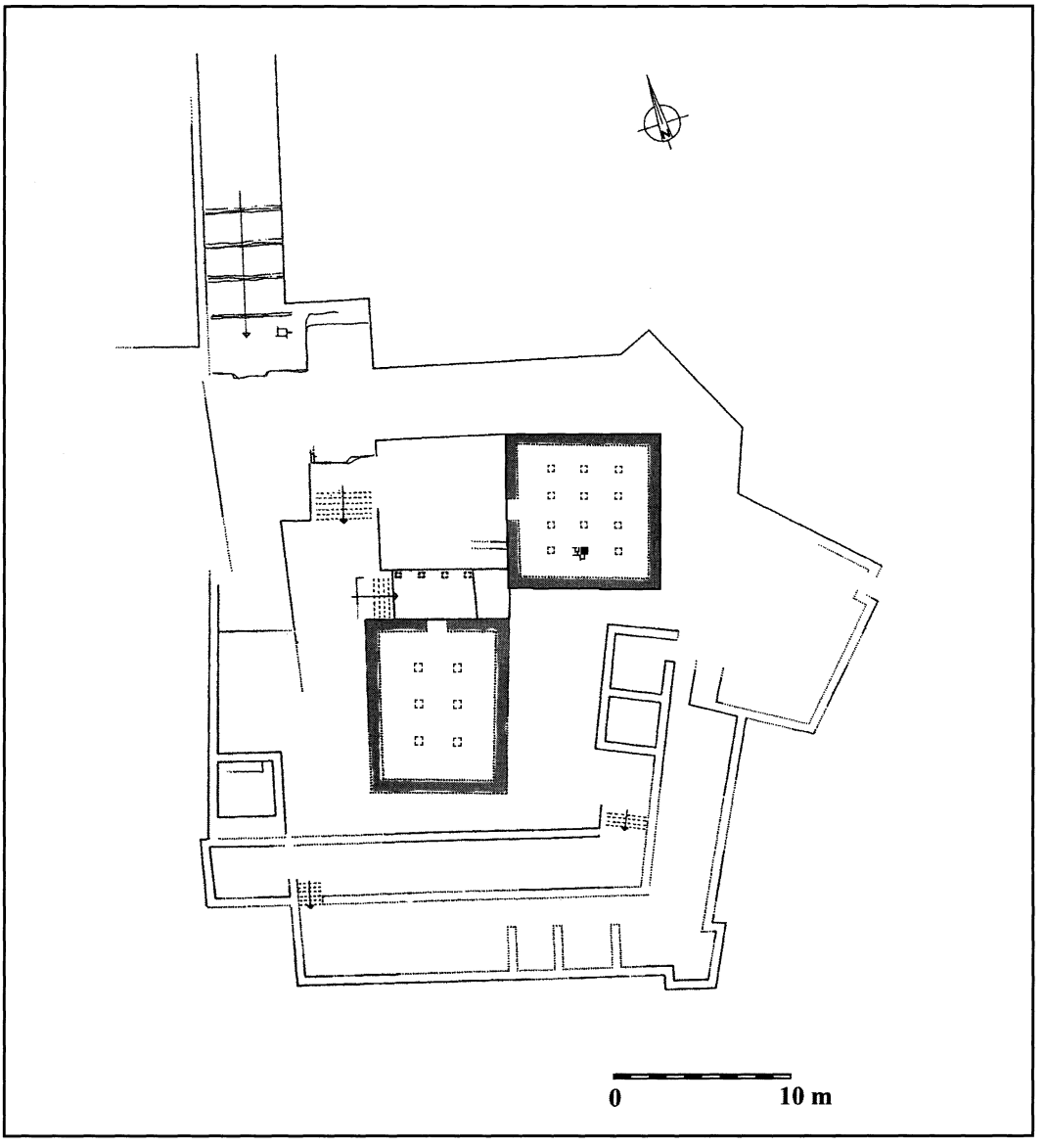

Figure 74. Ḥuṣn al-Qays temple, general plan (after Breton et al. *1982, p. 69, pl. VI).*

The terrace behind the ruins of the buildings, to the south of them, was arranged into two-stepped square. Each step was accessible through narrow staircases constructed one in its north-eastern and the other in its north-western corners. The upper step was occupied by a row of small adjacent compartments with wide openings to the north, towards the sanctuary. Ruins of some additional structures were discovered also to the west and east of the buildings.

Fragments of two dedicatory inscriptions engraved on limestone facing slabs were found in the ruins of the structures (RAMRY/00-ḤQ no.1 and no. 2; see *Appendix III*, nos. 6, 7). Unfortunately, none of them contain the name of the deity worshipped in the sanctuary.

It looks like the temple complex Ḥuṣn al-Qays stood isolated in the mouth of the Wādī Sāna, quite far away from any known ancient settlements and/or cave-necropolis in the area.

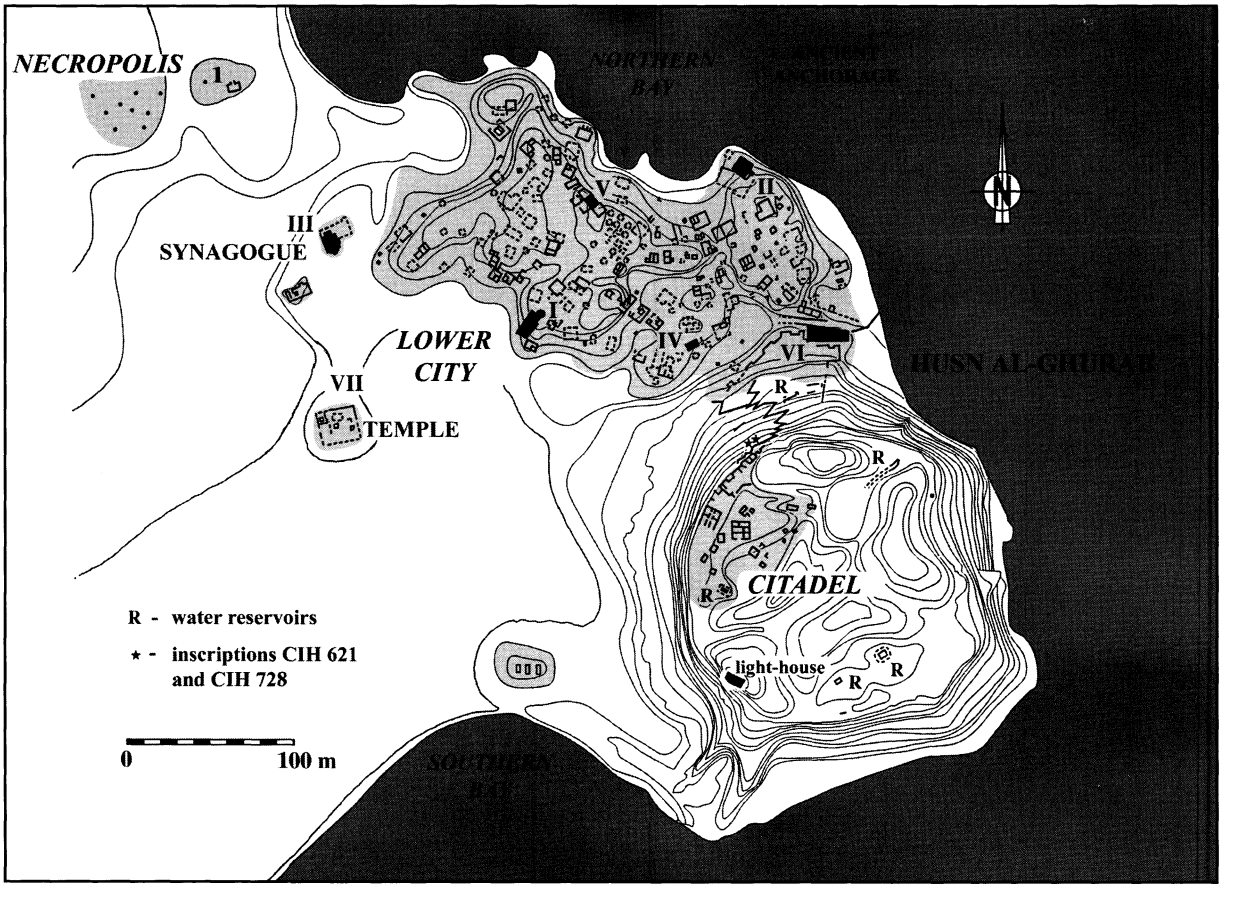

Figure 75. Biʾr ʿAlī settlement, general plan (design by A. Sedov).

Bā Quṭfa settlement, for instance, lies *c.* 3-4 km north-west of the complex, on the opposite side of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, and it is doubtful whether both monuments once constituted a single unit. A few dozen meters to the north, just in front of the ruins of the temple complex, irrigation sediments, almost 15.0 m thick, are clearly visible (see *pl. XLV*, 2). Loess mounds, *c.* 6.0-8.0 m high, marked ancient fields on the top of the natural sediments similarly to the Raybūn oasis. Their presence might indicate a settlement or a farmstead close to the Ḥuṣn al-Qays complex. On the other hand, the possibility that the above-mentioned ancient fields were cultivated by the temple community, as we proposed for the agricultural lands in the vicinity of Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/Naʿmān temple in the Wadi Dawʿan (see *Chapter 2*), cannot be excluded.

17. BIʾR ʿALĪ SETTLEMENT (ANCIENT *QNʾ*)

The ancient Ḥaḍrami port of *Qnʾ* or Biʾr ʿAlī settlement is situated near the modern village of Biʾr ʿAlī, on the opposite side of the bay, probably the best landing place on the southern coast of Yemen (*fig. 75*). The site is dominated by a huge rock outcrop known now as Ḥuṣn al-Ghurāb with water cisterns, ruins of an ancient fortress and a lighthouse on its summit. The ancient settlement occupied a vast

stretch along the sea-shore just to the north of Ḥuṣn al-Ghurāb. Numerous traces of walls belonging to ruined houses are visible above the sand. Excavations by the Russian Archaeological Mission in different parts of the settlement made it possible to identify three main periods of occupation: "early" (BA-I), "middle" (BA-II) and "late" (BA-III) periods, each one characterised by a specific pottery complex[93]. Two structures of possible religious functions were discovered at the site so far.

Temple of a local deity - A group of structures situated on the western outskirts (Area 7) of the ancient settlement was identified as a large religious complex *(fig. 76*; see *pl. LI*). Unfortunately, no inscriptions were found during the excavations to establish the name of divinity worshiped in the temple. In general it might be Sayīn, the "federal" deity of ancient Ḥaḍramawt[94].

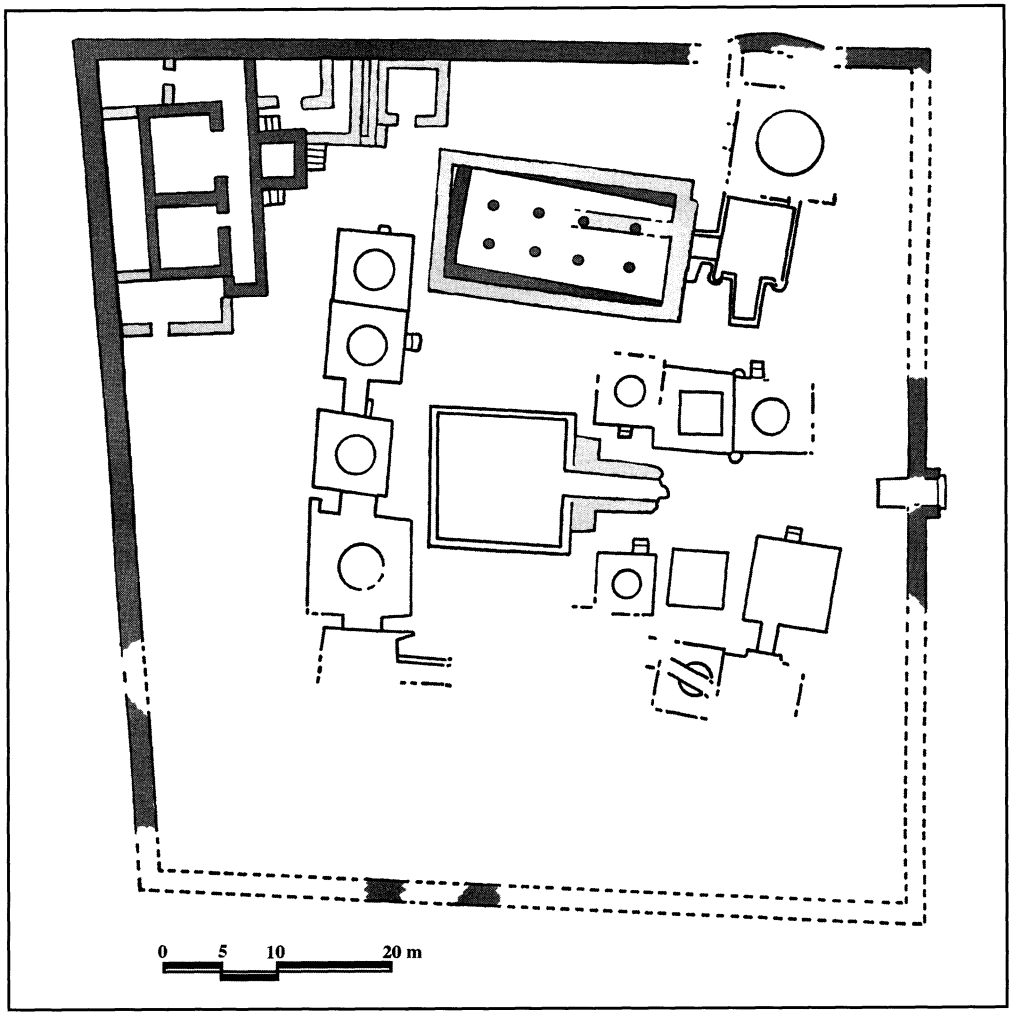

Figure 76. Biʾr ʿAlī settlement, temple of a local deity, general plan (drawing by V. Bernard and M. Mouton).

[93] Sedov 1992; 1996c.

[94] In the present description we are following the short preliminary report (Mouton 1996) presented to the G.O.A.M. and the first information published recently: Inizan, Mouton 1997; Mouton 1998.

A large wall forming a rectangular structure about 39.5x42.0 m in size with orientation from north to south enclosed the buildings. The main entrance to the enclosed area, 2.5 m wide, was in the middle part of the eastern wall. It had two steps outside and a ramp sloping inside.

A square stone socle more than 1.5 m high and approximately 7.3x7.2 m in size, badly eroded, serving, most probably, as a basement of a "main sanctuary" was erected in the centre of the enclosed area. The superstructure is badly preserved, but we can suppose that like in other Ḥaḍramawt temples its core was a hypostyle hall with its entrance through a four-column portico. Parts of collapsed shafts of pillars made of round stones 0.30-0.35 m in diameter were found at the base of the platform[95]. A porch for the portico pillars, 1.5x4.0 m in size, was built against the eastern wall of the platform. A monumental staircase, about 5.0 m long and 1.5 m wide, led to the portico from the east. The walls of the sanctuary, platform and staircase were carefully plastered and painted with geometrical designs in red and yellow (only depleted fragments of the decoration have been found). Another structure, probably with a similar layout only smaller, 6.2x6.8 m in size and less than 1.0 m high, was found in the north-eastern corner of the enclosed area ("small sanctuary"?). Its staircase *c.* 4 m long was built against the southern wall of the socle.

The "main sanctuary" and the doorway to the enclosed area were connected with an alley bordered by six square stone platforms, almost 0.5-1.0 m high and 2.0-4.0x3.0-5.0 m in size, which were carefully plastered and painted in red. They were used as the foundations for a kind of round altar, 1.5-2.0 m in diameter, erected in its centre. Burnt stones and pieces of incense were found in the destruction level above the platforms indicating the possible functions of the altars. Structures of this kind were also discovered to the south and west of the central building, and in the north-eastern corner of the complex. In all, the remains of sixteen platforms were preserved. Most of them had small stairs, 1.2-1.5 m wide, for the access on their top surfaces, which may confirm the existence of some processional rituals, performed around the altars. Very few platforms stood separately, while others were built adjacent to each other or were connected by narrow passages.

A large rectangular building, 6.0x11.5 m in size, was unearthed to the north of the main sanctuary (it was connected with the so-called small sanctuary in the north-eastern corner of the complex by a narrow passage). Stone bases of eight pillars which once supported the roof were found in the building's interior. Remains of the ritual (?) meals (fish and mammal bones) as well as pottery fragments, ashes and charcoal scattered on the floor may indicate that the building was used as refectory. Western and southern parts of the enclosed area were occupied by more than 50 oval fireplaces, 1.0-1.5 m in diameter, carefully built with small stones. They contained heavy burnt ash deposits and fragments of shells, mostly oysters and small mussels, also indicating the remains of ritual (?) meals. Stratigraphicaly they must be placed close to the very late period of occupation of the sanctuary.

A large terrace, *c.* 0.7 m high, erected against the inner face of the fencing wall occupied the north-west corner of the sacral complex. Two stairs, 0.8 m and 1.0 m wide, led from the east up to the

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[95] French scholars considered these fragments as parts of round altars on which incense was burnt (concretions of burnt incense were found on at least one of the artefacts).

top surface of the terrace where the so-called "dwelling complex" consisting of several adjoining rooms was built. Its core consisted of two adjoining rooms, 3.0x3.0 m and 3.0x4.0 m in size, surrounding by a Π-shaped narrow corridor. A low bench, 0.6-0.7 m wide, was constructed in the bigger room along its three walls. An elaborate fireplace was built in the western part of the corridor against its western wall. Ash, pieces of charcoal and fragments of hand-made pottery lend support to attributing this part of the corridor as a kitchen area. It seems that rooms in the north-eastern and southern parts were added to the "dwelling complex" later. One of them was a rectangular cella, 2.0x3.2 m in size, with a kind of podium, 1.1x1.9 m in size and 0.25 m high, made of stones against the middle part of its northern wall. The entrance to the cella, 1.5 m wide, was blocked with stones. In all probability we can consider this room as a kind of "domestic shrine". All structures described above were carefully plastered and rather often painted: numerous fragments of plaster with geometrical and zoomorphical decoration painted in red, yellow, pink, brown and black were found in the ruins.

A large quantity of incense was collected in the ruins of sacral complex. Burnt incense was preserved inside scallop shells using as incense-burners in almost all the rooms of the "dwelling complex". As was stated above, carbonised fragments of incense was found in abundance above the platforms with the round altars in its centre (probably, falling down from the top of the altars). In addition, three stone incense-burners, personal ornaments including glass, stone and metal beads and pendants, copper and silver coinage, pottery fragments were found in the ruins of the "main sanctuary"[96].

The first review of the material as well as stratigraphical data allow to determine three main phases of occupation of religious complex, to indicate an approximate chronological range of its existence:

- *1st phase:* foundation of the enclosed area with the "main sanctuary" in its centre, and with several rooms in the middle of the "early terrace" in the "dwelling complex", first building for refectory with 8-pillars hall, and first platforms with round altars in the middle around the "main sanctuary" (*c.* 2nd - early 3rd centuries AD);
- *2nd phase:* extension of the terrace with additional rooms of the "dwelling complex", erection of the new building for refectory with "small sanctuary" to the east and new platforms with round altars (*c.* 3rd - 4th centuries AD);
- *3rd phase:* installation of fire-places in the western and southern parts of the complex in relation with some rituals performed around sanctuaries and altars already partly ruined (probably after a short period of abandonment indicating by accumulation of white sand) (*c.* early 5th century AD).

Some constructional changes such as the blocked entrance to the "domestic shrine", abandonment of sanctuaries and altars, re-using of some religious artefacts such as big, stone incense-burners with carefully plastered religious symbols in the form of a crescent and circle above it (it was re-used as a

[96] On identification of the coins see Sedov 1998a, Cat. I, nos. 457, 458; Cat. II, nos. 38, 240-243, 294, 710-803; Cat. III, nos. 6, 26-34, 41-50, 302-331.

pedestal) as well as total absence of votive inscriptions usually found in abundance in the Ḥaḍramawt temples (it looks like they were specially destroyed) might indicate important modifications in the worship which took place at the end of the second phase, perhaps in some part of the 4th century AD. These possible modifications were probably connected with development of monotheistic cults in ancient Ḥaḍramawt.

Synagogue - One more building of some religious functions was discovered on the north-western outskirts of the settlement, beyond the limits of the ancient city (Area 3). The excavations revealed ruins of two buildings constructed in consecutive order. The core of the upper building (*"Late Structure"*) was a square hall or a courtyard with four rooms arranged along its central axis. On the north-north-west the building ended by a rectangular apsidal room with essentially elevated floor level, while the main entrance to the courtyard from the south-south-east was designed as a square vestibule in front of a two-column portico. Remains of the previous construction (*"Early Structure"*) were discovered in a series of soundings under the floor level in central, north-western and north-eastern parts of the building.

"Late Structure". The total dimensions of the unearthed structure are 17.0x24.5 m (*fig. 77*). Its long axis extends in the north-north-west - south-south-east direction. There are ruins of some additional constructions in the north-western and north-eastern parts of the area (note the walls m21 and m31 attached to the north-western outer walls of the building) but its correlation with the excavated "Late Structure" remains unclear.

The building had two entrances: from the south-south-east (the main entrance) and from the east-north-east (the lateral entrance).

The main entrance, flanked by two short projected walls or pilasters, is 1.8 m wide. It leads to the almost square vestibule (*room 1*), 4.0x4.2 m in size, wide open through the two-column portico to the central hall or courtyard. A small rectangular room (*room 2*), 2.0x3.8 m in size, occupying the south-western corner of the courtyard, is, probably, a relatively late addition.

The sub-square hall or courtyard forming the core of the building (*room 3*), 15.5x15.5-16.0 m in size, was separated into two parts by the row of central premises. The north-eastern part of the courtyard is *c.* 4.0 m wide, while the width of its south-western part is *c.* 5.0 m. It seems quite probable that the courtyard was partly roofed: the presence of two prismatic-shaped stone blocks served as pillar bases as well as a fragment of cylindrical pillar, 0.31 m in diameter and 0.28 m high, found in the south-eastern part of the courtyard makes such a supposition very likely. The vertical wooden beams incorporated in the outer face of the walls m14 and m3 were probably also connected with the roofing.

A large tablet of incense, 25x35 cm in size, was discovered in the north-western corner of the courtyard lying among numerous fragments of a big stone plate (most likely the incense was once placed on the plate). Remains of a completely burnt wooden object were found nearby. Its parts decorated by schist inlays with inscribed South Arabian characters were fastened together by miniature bronze nails and covered by fabric (see below on the possible interpretation of this find).

The small sub-square room (*room 4*), 2.5x2.7 m in size, is situated in the centre of the south-eastern part of the courtyard. Its entrance, *c.* 1.5 m wide, is located in the south-eastern wall of the

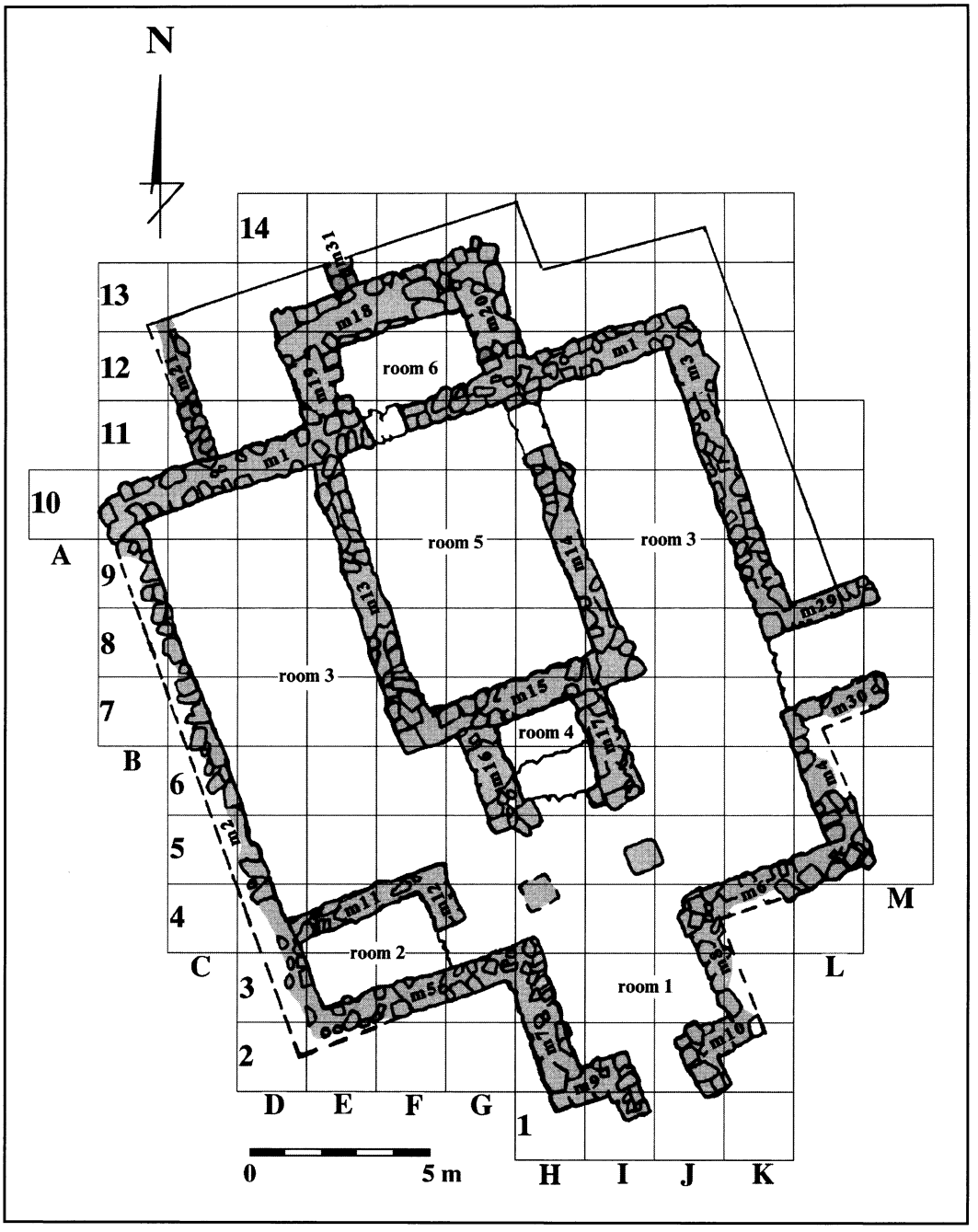

Figure 77. Biʾr ʿAlī settlement, synagogue. "Late Structure", plan (drawing by Ju. Kozhin and A. Sedov).

room. A rectangular pit, 1.3x2.5 m in size and 0.45 m deep, occupies practically the entire south-eastern half of the room. Most probably a stone reservoir for ablutions (?), fragments of which were discovered nearby on the floor in the south-eastern part of the courtyard, was originally placed in that pit.

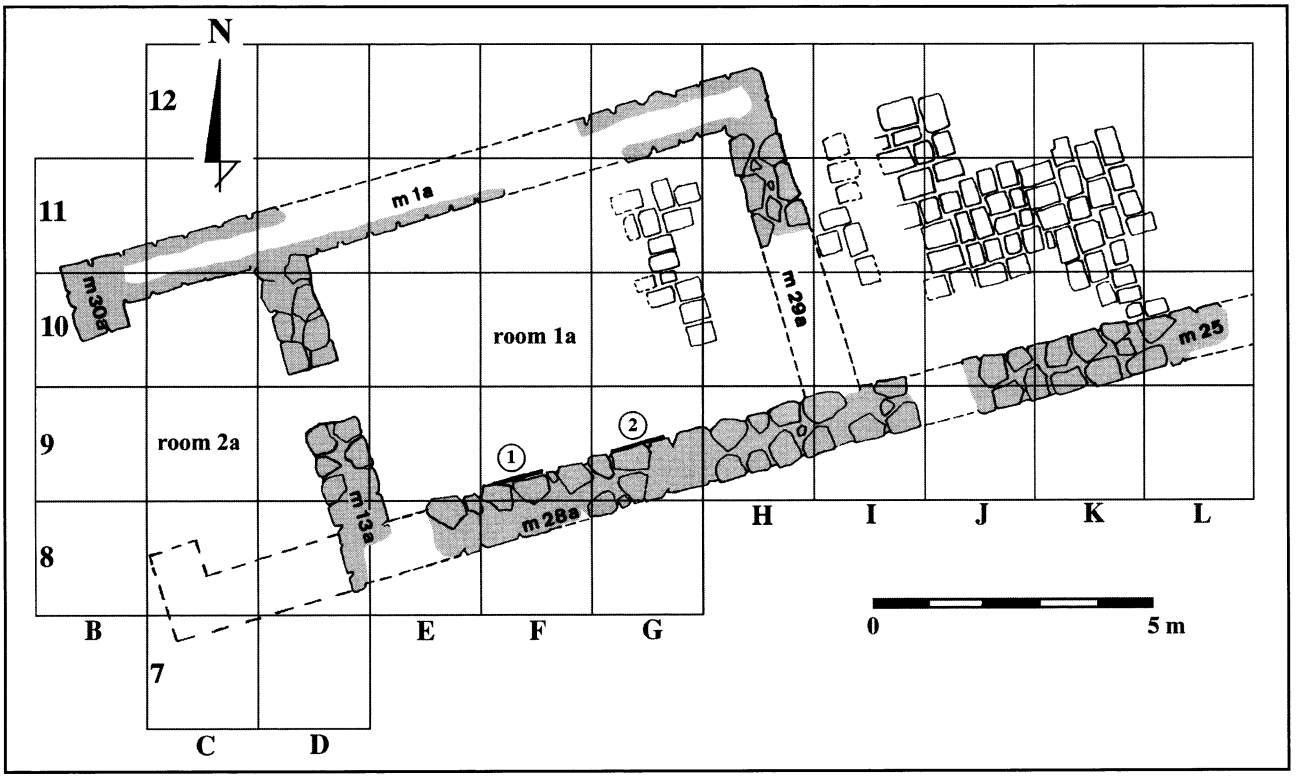

Figure 78. Biʾr ʿAlī settlement, synagogue. "Early Structure", plan (drawing by Ju. Kozhin and A. Sedov). 1, 2 - plaster with Greek and South Arabian graffiti.

The large rectangular room (*room 5*), 5.0x7.7 m in size, occupies the central part of the courtyard. Unfortunately, the very bad state of preservation of its walls does not allow defining the entrance to the room precisely. Most likely the entrance, *c.* 1.0 m wide, was located in the north-eastern corner of the room, and was supplied with a rather high, *c.* 0.6 m, stone door-step. The room had a slightly raised floor level in comparison with the floor in the courtyard (probably, as a result of the construction above the ruins of the "Early Structure"; see below). The walls of the room were made of rough worked basalt blocks fixed together by limestone mortar. To all appearances, the interior surface of the walls as well as the floor of the room were covered by lime plaster.

The small rectangular room (*room 6*), 2.0x3.5 m in size, is situated in the apsidal part of the building. Its floor level is 0.5-0.6 m higher than level of the floor in the adjoining room 5, and the apsidal room was accessible through a narrow, *c.* 0.5 m wide, hole in its south-western corner. The floor and interior walls of the room 6 were carefully plastered.

"Early Structure". The ruins of previous building were discovered basically under the floors in the northern part of the courtyard and room 5 of the "Late Structure". Judging by the results of the excavations, the earlier building differed greatly from the later one: the layout and orientation were different (the main axis of the "Early Structure" was along the north-east - south-west direction), the types of masonry work were different (while the walls of the "Late Structure" were rather coarsely made of rough worked stones fixed by limestone mortar, the walls of the "Early Structure" were

constructed from more thoroughly worked stone blocks mounted without mortar). The remains of only two rooms and a part of a paved courtyard have been discovered so far (*fig. 78*).

The core of the building was a rectangular room (*room 1a*), 5.0x8.0 m in size. The entrance, *c.* 1.0 m wide, was situated almost in the centre of its south-western wall and connected the room with the adjoining premises. North-western (m1a) and south-western (m13a) walls of the room were incorporated into the masonry of the related walls of the "Late Structure" (m1 and m13), while the north-eastern (m29a) and south-eastern (m28a) walls were almost completely destroyed during the construction of the upper building. The interior of the room 1a was carefully plastered. The floor pavement was made of stone blocks preserved in the north-eastern part of the room.

The ruins of the room 1a revealed quite a number of artefacts among which Ḥaḍrami, Sabaean and Ḥimyarite coins as well as fragments of glass and bronze vessels, personal ornaments should be mentioned. The most important finds were, no doubt, fragments of gypsum wall-plaster with Greek (see below), Syriac (pers. com. of the late G.M. Bauer) and South Arabian graffiti[97], primitive depictions of fish (?) and façade of a Classical building (a temple?).

Remains of another room (*room 2a*), *c.* 2.5x5.0 m in size, were unearthed to the south-west of the room 1a. The room 2a had a wide opening in its south-western wall (m30a) and was connected with the room 1a through the passage in its north-eastern wall (m13a).

Part of the open *courtyard* paved with rectangular basalt blocks (blocks' dimensions - 0.4x0.5, 0.3x0.6, 0.4x0.5, 0.4x0.55, 0.4x0.7, 0.5x0.7 m) was discovered to the north-east of the room 1a. It adjoined the north-eastern wall of room (m29a) and was bordered from the south-east by the wall m25, which appears to have been the continuation of the south-eastern wall (m28a) of the room 1a. The definition of the excavated space as a "courtyard" is rather hypothetical, however the lack of the walls fenced the pavement from its north-western and north-eastern sides should be mentioned.

Chronology - The artefacts collected during the excavations at the Area 3 do not allow to date the construction of the "Late Structure" and "Early Structure" precisely, but it is possible to outline the general chronological frames of their existence in correlation with stratigraphic periods determined for the Biʾr ʿAlī settlement.

The pottery assemblage from the ruins of the "Early Structure" is not very representative because of its scarcity, but the fragment of a bowl with a wavy rim (the so-called "Bayḥan bowl") found on the floor of the room 1a testifies that the period of its construction must be generally correlated with the "middle" (BA-II) period of Biʾr ʿAlī settlement (2nd-5th centuries AD), most likely with its second half. The coins found in the filling of the room 1a and paved courtyard, Ḥaḍrami and late Ḥimyarite bronze series[98], enable the period of the building's existence to be defined even more precisely: it seems absolutely indisputable that it was used when the late

[97] Lundin forthcoming.

[98] See Sedov 2000a, pp. 330-331, pls. 4-5.

Ḥimyarite bronzes had already circulated on the Ḥaḍramawt territory, *i.e.* in the very late 3rd-4th centuries AD. Early Sasanian parallels for the fragments of glazed vessel[99] and palaeography of the Greek graffito[100] rather well confirmed such dating.

Palaeography of the Greek graffito (second half of the 4th century AD) also shed some light on the question when the "Late Structure" discovered above the ruins of the earlier complex was built: most likely it was happened around the late 4th - early 5th century AD. No doubt the "Late Structure" was in function during a considerable period of time – a lot of fragments of ribbed amphorae, the pottery type typical for the "late" (BA-III) period of Biʾr ʿAlī settlement (6th - early 7th centuries AD), have been found in its ruins.

The end of the "Late Structure" was violent: it collapsed in a big fire. Radiocarbon analyses of the charcoal sample from its ruins gives the date 1400±150 BP (550±150 AD), which is probably quite close to the real date of building's destruction[101].

Attribution - The location of the building discovered at the Area 3 – beyond the limits of the ancient city – is rather remarkable and corresponds well with the situation in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt where almost every ancient settlement has an *extra muros* temple.

The content of the Greek graffito found in the ruins of the "Early Structure" gives some evidence on the attribution of the building: «The Almighty, helping Kosmas (?), and this Holy place is ... Let caravan be with me (safe?) ... let it (the sea ?) be favourable for sailing of a ship, let (him ?) lead (?) ...the matters and ...». As was stated by Ju.G. Vinogradov, the first publisher of the text, this is a prayer of a certain Kosmas (?), who was, probably, a high ranking merchant – συνοδιάρχης, to the Almighty and to His temple to keep the caravan safe during the journey and grant him success during his sea-voyage[102]. According to Vinogradov, the expression ὁ ἅγιος τόπος preserved in the second line of the text designates a Christian church or chapel, on which wall the graffito was engraved[103]. However, a few years later G.W. Bowersock convincingly showed that in contemporary texts the expression ὁ ἅγιος τόπος was used more often for designation of a synagogue rather than a Christian sanctuary. Combination with the appeal to Εἷς Θεὸς at the beginning of the text allowed him to conclude that «the weight of probability shifts, therefore, from a Christian to a Jewish context» for the graffito from Biʾr ʿAlī settlement. Moreover, the outstanding American scholar stated that «as to the building in which this inscription was found, it is impossible to say whether part of it was used as a synagogue. In view of the range of designs in diaspora synagogues, the possibility exists, pending further excavation. But two things can be said with certainty: the plan of the building unearthed at the Area 3 bears no resemblance whatever to a Christian church or chapel, and the building that replaced the one with the graffito was definitely a synagogue»[104]. It should be pointed out that such, rather hypothetical, interpretation of both buildings can be confirmed by architectural parallels and possible interpretation of some finds.

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[99] Venco Ricciardi 1984, p. 52, figs. 3, 12; see also Sedov 2000a, p. 299.

[100] Vinogradov Ju.G. 1989, p. 164; Bowersock 1993, p. 4.

[101] Sample Le-4316; the date is uncalibrated, see Popov *et al.* 1996, p. 197.

[102] Vinogradov Ju.G. 1989, p. 164; see also Addendum I in Sedov 1992, p. 136.

[103] Vinogradov Ju.G. 1989, pp. 164-165.

[104] Bowersock 1993.

Despite the fact that the ruins of the "Early Structure" is only partially preserved, its similarity to the layout of the so-called "transitional" type of Palestinian synagogue is rather remarkable. The distinguishing characteristics of this type of synagogues are its broadhouse (*"Breithausbau"*) plan with the entrance in one of the short walls, and the location of βῆμα against and the Torah shrine in the long wall of the prayer hall oriented towards Jerusalem[105]. The most well known structures of this type are the synagogues in Dura Europos, Khirbet Shemaᶜ and Eshtemoa[106].

It is hard to expect that the structure constructed on the southern coast of the Arabian Peninsula and used for religious meetings of initially probably rather small Judaic community would be coincided with the layout of Syrian and Palestinian synagogues in details, however parallels of their general planing are rather obvious. Unfortunately, the location of βῆμα as well as the niche for Torah scrolls was not determined in the remains of the excavated room 1a. But it is worth remembering that the "Early Structure" was considerably destroyed during the construction of the "Late Structure" when its walls were partly incorporated into the masonry of the new building. We can suppose that niche for the Torah chest had been once located in the centre of the north-western wall m1a, at the same place where in the new building the narrow passage to the apsidal room 6 was constructed.

It is usually thought that the synagogues of "transitional" type were spread during the 3rd and 4th centuries AD[107], which rather well corresponds with the date of the "Early Structure" suggested above.

There is no reason to assume that the function of the new building designated as the "Late Structure" was changed. On the contrary, we can suppose that the new synagogue was considerably enlarged for religious ceremonies of the bigger Judaic community at *Qnʾ*. Following the present classification, the building could be determined now as the "late" (basilical) type synagogue or the synagogue with "apse plan"[108]. It is thought that this type of the synagogues was patterned after the Christian basilica, and its distinguishing characteristics were a narthex or vestibule, a central hall divided into a nave and two side aisles, and an apse facing Jerusalem where the Torah shrine was permanently stored. The bright examples of such buildings with beautiful mosaic floors were discovered at Beth Alpha, Naᶜaran, Maᶜon (Nirim), Aegina, Gaza, Ḥammat Gader and other places in Palestine and Eastern Mediterranean[109]. Some of those buildings had rectangular apses instead of semicircle ones like it was, for example, in the synagogues at Priene, Gerasa, En Gedi[110].

It is easy to see that the "Late Structure" excavated at Area 3 has many features typical of the apsidal synagogues, however it is hard to ascertain the precise identity, like it was with the "Early Structure". The main entrance to the building was designed as the small vestibule (narthex, νάρτηξ), and not far from it the room with the water reservoir intended for ritual ablutions was located. The internal space of the building was divided into a central nave (room 5) and two side

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[105] About this type of Palestinian synagogues see SHANKS 1979, pp. 50-51; LEVINE 1993, pp. 1422-1423.
[106] KRAELING 1956, pp. 14-25; MEYERS 1993; LEVINE 1993, p. 1423.
[107] LEVINE 1993, p. 1422.
[108] SHANKS 1979, p. 51; LEVINE 1993, p. 1422.
[109] SUKENIK 1932; 1949, fig. 1; LEVY *et al.* 1960, pp. 19-24; SHANKS 1979, p. 107; OVADIAH 1993, pp. 465-466.
[110] SUKENIK 1934, pp. 42-43; LEVINE 1993, p. 1423.

aisles (north-eastern and south-western parts of the room 3) by stone walls and not by pillars like it was in Palestinian synagogues.

The rectangular apse was the continuation of the central nave and was oriented towards Jerusalem (in our case that is north-north-west). It contained very small but carefully plastered small room (room 6) intended, probably, for permanent storage of the Torah shrine. This room (more likely a peculiar niche) was clearly separated from the central nave by a very high threshold and an incredibly narrow passage. To all appearance an alabaster slab discovered in two fragments on the floor of the central nave was used to block the entrance to the room. It is very tempting to see in this slab with thoroughly polished central cavity a kind of chancel screen found very often in Palestinian synagogues[111].

As we noted above, the remains of a completely burnt wooden object have been found in the south-western part of the room 3 (one of the side aisles). The object was decorated with engraved schist plates and covered with cloth; its parts were fixed together by miniature bronze nails. Could it be remains of the wooden box for sacred Scrolls of the Law, remains of the Torah shrine, which was thrown away and burnt during the destruction and plundering of the synagogue? There was another finding probably also connected with religious objects stored in the building – bronze bushings, which could be interpreted as metal parts of a seven-branched candelabrum or *menorah*, the particular symbol of the synagogue.

18. SUMHURĀM (ANCIENT *S'MHRM*)

The ancient walled city, known from the inscriptions as Sumhurām, is situated about 45 km east of Salalah on the coast of Dhofar. It was built on a rocky outcrop in the Khor Rori lagoon (*Moscha Limén* of the Greek texts) close to the sea (*fig. 79*).

The function of Sumhurām as an outpost of the Kingdom of Ḥaḍramawt associated with the control and protection of the ancient frankincense-bearing region is very clear from the contents of the Ḥaḍrami inscriptions found in its ruins and evidenced from the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*. The site was explored in the early 50s and 60s by the expedition of the American Foundation for the Study of Man[112], and since 1995 is under study of the Italian Mission to Oman (IMTO) headed by Prof. Alessandra Avanzini[113]. *Extra muros* and *intra muros* temples as well as a monumental building with, probably, some religious functions were discovered at the ancient settlement and close to it[114].

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[111] SHANKS 1979, p. 115.

[112] ALBRIGHT 1982, pp. 3-69, 84-106; on the publication of epigraphic material from the ancient Sumhurām see JAMME 1953; 1954; 1967; 1979; BEESTON 1953; 1976; PIRENNE 1975a; WISSMANN 1977; AVANZINI, ORAZI 2001; AVANZINI 2002a, pp. 125-140.

[113] AVANZINI 1996; 2002; AVANZINI *et al.* 2000; 2001; 2002.

[114] *Intra muros* and *extra muros* temples were discovered and partially excavated by IMTO during the spring campaign in 2003. I would like to thank Alessandra Avanzini for her kind permission to include the preliminary results of these investigations in my book.

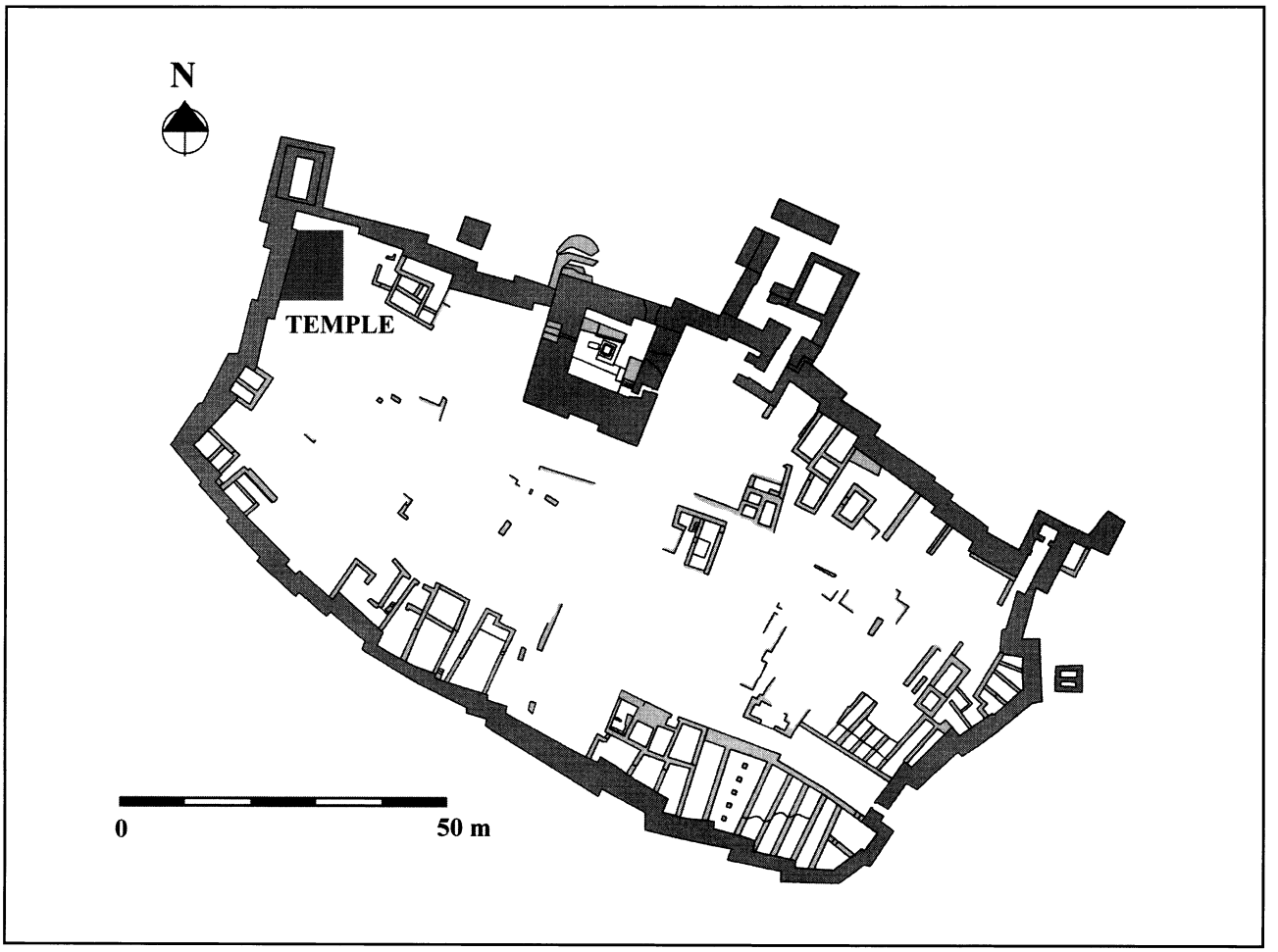

Figure 79. Sumhurām, general plan (drawing by V. Labianca).

Intra muros *temple* - The building, one of the most prominent edifices in Sumhurām, was located against the city-wall, close to the north-western corner of the ancient city. It was most probably constructed in the mid/late 1st century AD on the ruins of preceding house using these ruins as the foundation of the new structure. At least two constructional phases of the temple have been determined.

1st phase. The main entrance to the building from the vast square located eastwards was designed as a small antechamber (*room A21*), *c.* 2.2x2.5 m in size, with high raised floor level (*figs. 80-81*; see *pl. LII*, 1). A four-stepped staircase connected the antechamber with the outside square, while another one led to the wide (1.5 m) entrance through which the interior *room A22* was accessible. It was a square compartment, 2.6x2.6 m in size, with a lower stone bench along its north-eastern and north-western walls and a wide opening to the south-west. Two wooden pillars were placed on both sides of the opening once supporting the roof of the building (stone bases of pillars preserved *in situ*). Most probably, the pillars were mounted when the south-western corner of the *room A22* has started to collapse. The *room A39*, *c.* 2.6x8.2 m in size, had a slightly lowered floor level, and its north-

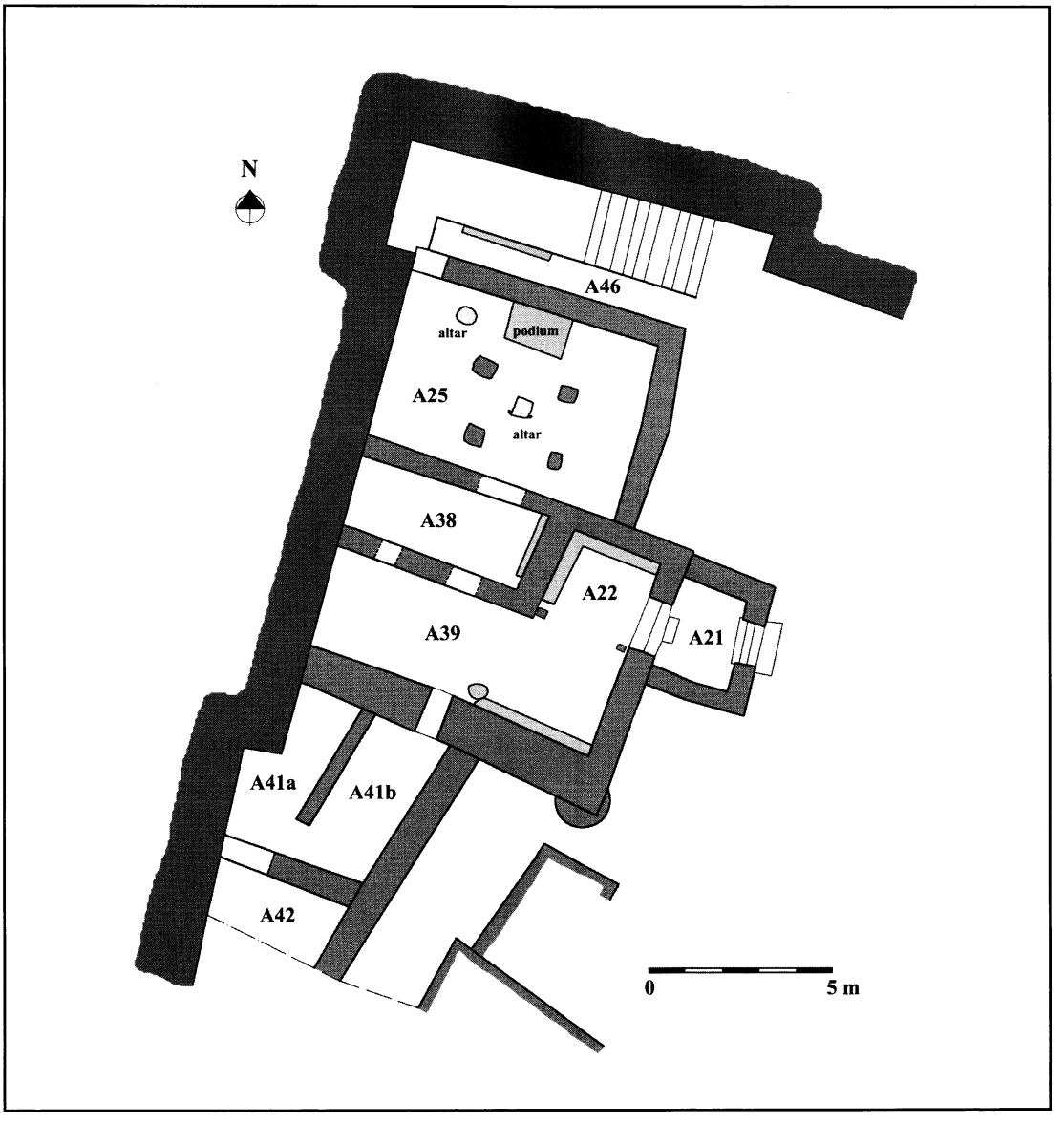

Figure 80. Sumhurām, intra muros *temple, plan of the 1st phase (drawing by I. Cerato).*

western part was occupied by a big stone basin intended, probably, for ritual ablutions (see *pl. LII*, 1). A lower stone bench was built against part of its south-eastern wall. Two passages, 0.6 m and 0.9 m wide, connected the room with the adjacent compartment (*room A38*), *c.* 2.0x5.2 m in size, located northwards.

The core of the ancient temple was a sanctuary (*room A25*), rectangular in layout, *c.* 5.0x7.0 m in size (see *pl. LII*, 2). The proposed passage in its south-western wall connected the sanctuary with the room A38. Another passage connecting the sanctuary with the exterior corridor (*room A46*) was traced in its north-western corner. Four wooden pillars (their stone bases still preserved *in situ*) divided the sanctuary into three naves. A rectangular podium, 1.2x1.7 m in size and preserved height of 0.6 m, was constructed in the central nave against the north-eastern wall of the sanctuary opposite

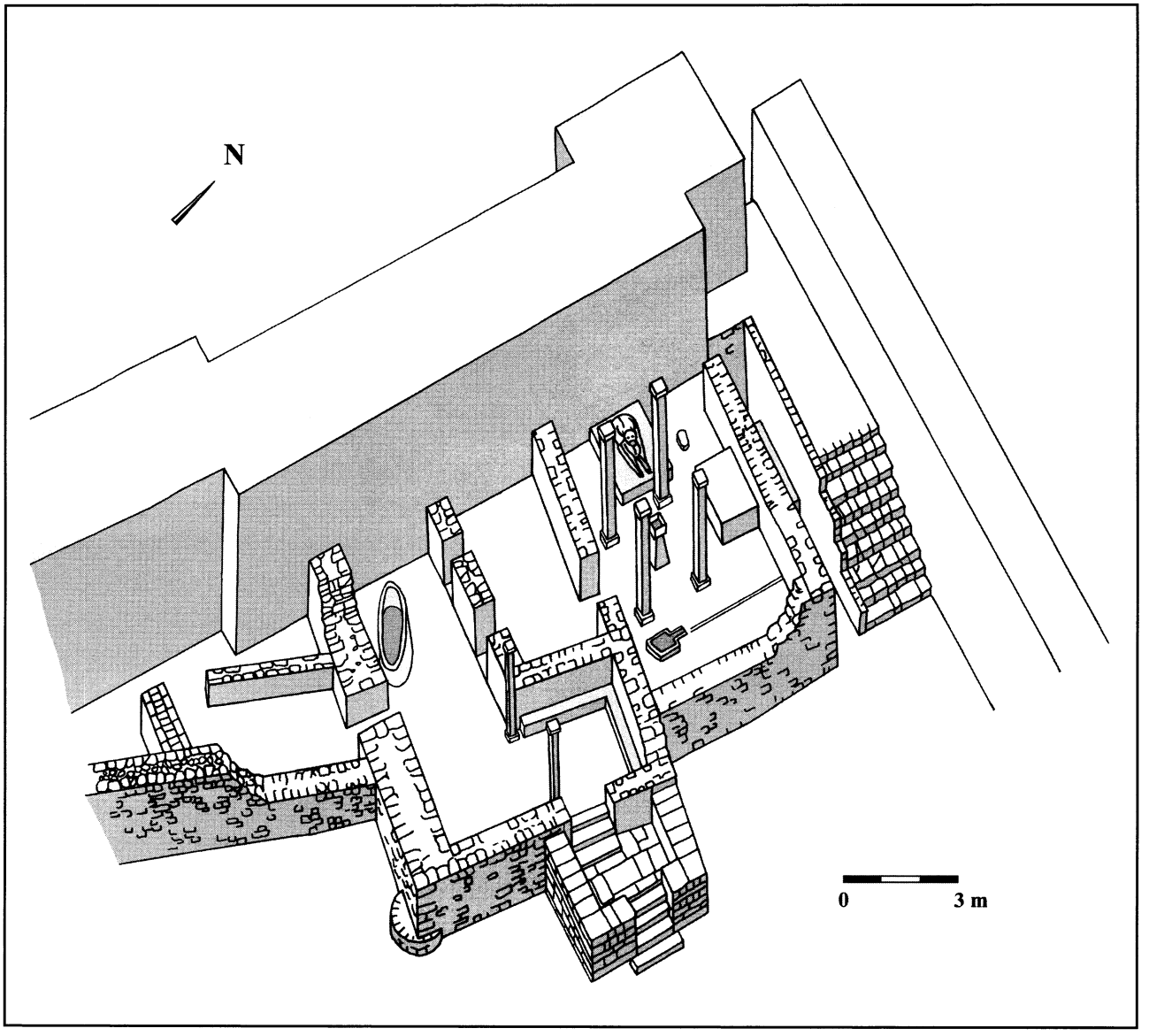

Figure 81. Sumhurām, intra muros *temple, 1st phase, axonometric view with elements of reconstruction (drawing by E. Kurkina and A. Sedov).*

its entrance. A pillar-shaped incense-burner probably stood in the centre of the room in front of the podium (the remains of its mounting were traced on the floor of the room).

Two lower mud-brick platforms or podiums, on which remains of fastening of votive objects such as offering table (in the eastern nave) and bronze sculpture (in the western nave), were preserved in lateral naves of the sanctuary. An altar made from a flat stone slab placed on prismatic-shaped stone base was discovered in the north-western corner of the sanctuary. A lot of sea-shells *Chlamys townsendi* containing some charred remains and stone incense-burners were found scattered on the floor around the altar. Another cluster of seashells *Chlamys townsendi* with charred traces were discovered on the floor of the eastern nave close to the podium.

The south-western part of the building was occupied by two adjacent rooms, in which there seems to have been the temple kitchen or refectory. They were accessible through the arched passage, 0.6 m wide, constructed in the north-western wall of the room A39. The *room A41a* located along the interior of the city-wall had an irregular shape and was 0.8-1.5x4.5 m in size. The passage, 1.1 m wide, in its south-eastern corner connected the room with the *room A41b*, which was rectangular in layout and 2.0x4.5 m in size. The partition wall dividing the rooms was built from mud-bricks placed on a stone foundation. One more passage, *c.* 1.3 m wide, located in the south-western corner of the room A41a led to the room A42, which was not yet excavated.

2nd phase. Some significant reconstruction was made at the beginning of the second phase of the temple's existence (*figs. 82-83*). The upper staircase in the room A21 was repaired and the floor level of all rooms of the temple was raised. Because of the collapsed south-eastern wall of the sanctuary (room A25) three additional pillars to support the roof of the temple were mounted. A large stone mortar was found on the top floor in the room A22. The sanctuary itself was significantly enlarged: its south-western wall was completely demolished and the western and central naves were extended by mounting one more pillar. The south-western corner of the sanctuary was now occupied by a new lower platform or podium made from mud-bricks. Two oblong cavities carefully plastered with gypsum were traced on the platform (see *pl. LIII*, 1). We can suppose that a bronze sculpture of a bull, an animal manifestation of the god, once stood here.

The floor level in the room A39 was significantly raised up covering now the stone basin for ablutions standing in the north-western part of the room. The entrance leading to the adjacent room A41 was widened. The floor level in the rooms A41a and A41b was also raised up covering the partition wall. Now it was a single unit (*room A41*), almost trapezoidal in layout and 3.5-4.0x4.5 m in size, with two wooden pillars placed close to each other in the centre of the room (one stone base of pillars was placed above the remnants of partition wall, while another base – on huge hewn stone block dug into the upper part of filling of the room). The south-western wall of the room was enlarge by constructing a stone "skin", which closed also the entrance to the room A42. Part of the street south-east of the building was converted to a compartment, the roof of which was now supported by a central pillar (*room A32*).

A lot of votive objects were found scattered above the upper floor of the sanctuary: a base of a bronze candelabrum, several bronze bells, personal ornaments like bronze bracelet, finger-ring and pendant in the form of a camel, bronze coins, several stone and bronze incense-burners, a complete

stone vessel, a ceramic vase with South Arabian letters, a bronze bowl with dedicative inscription, parts of an offering table, and shells *Chlamys townsendi* used as oil-lamps and/or incense-burners. The votive inscription running along the rim of the bronze bowl indicated that the dedication was made to the god Sayīn in "his temple in (the city of) Sumhurām in the land of Saʾkalān".

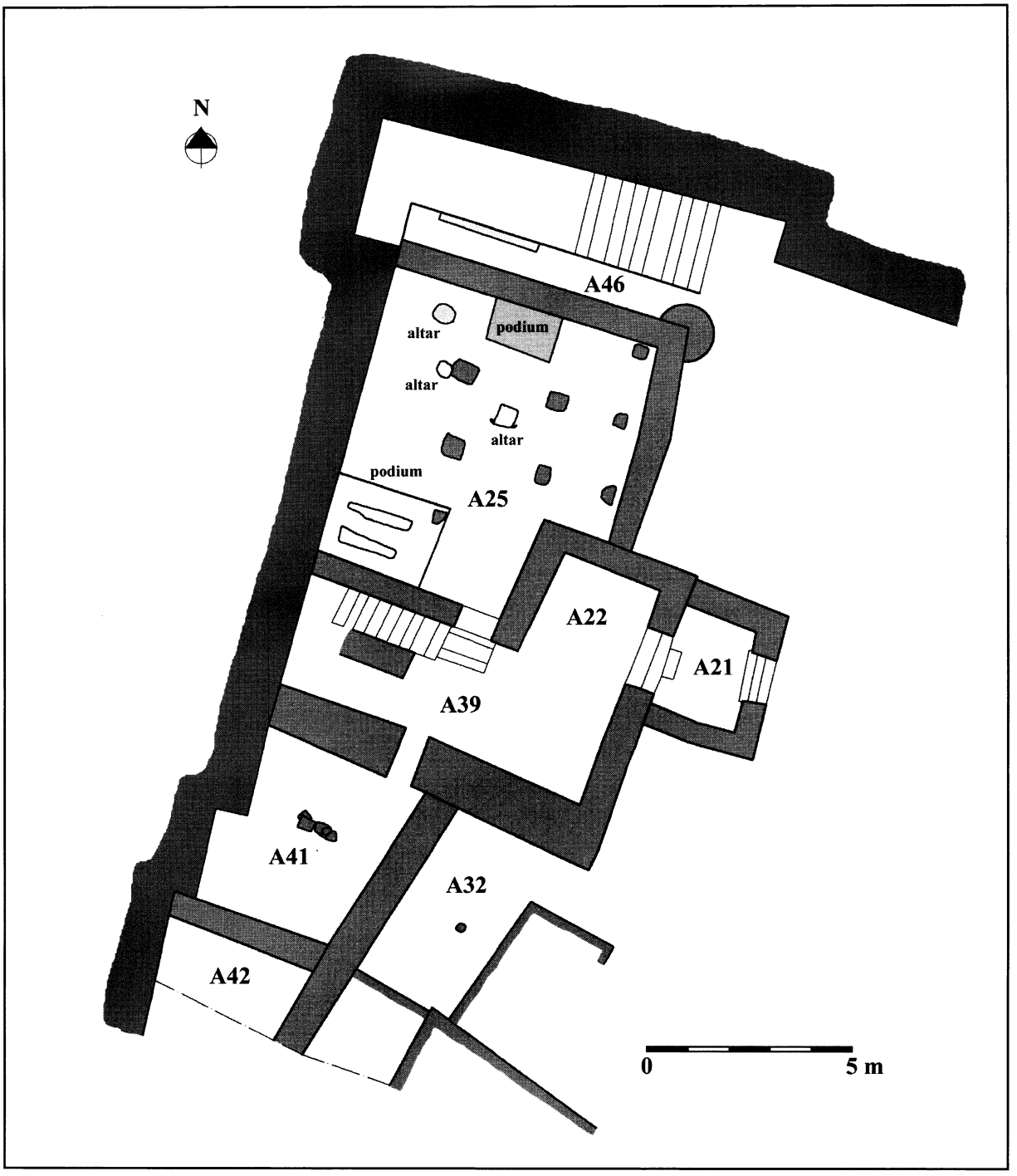

Figure 82. Sumhurām, intra muros *temple, plan of the 2nd phase (drawing by I. Cerato).*

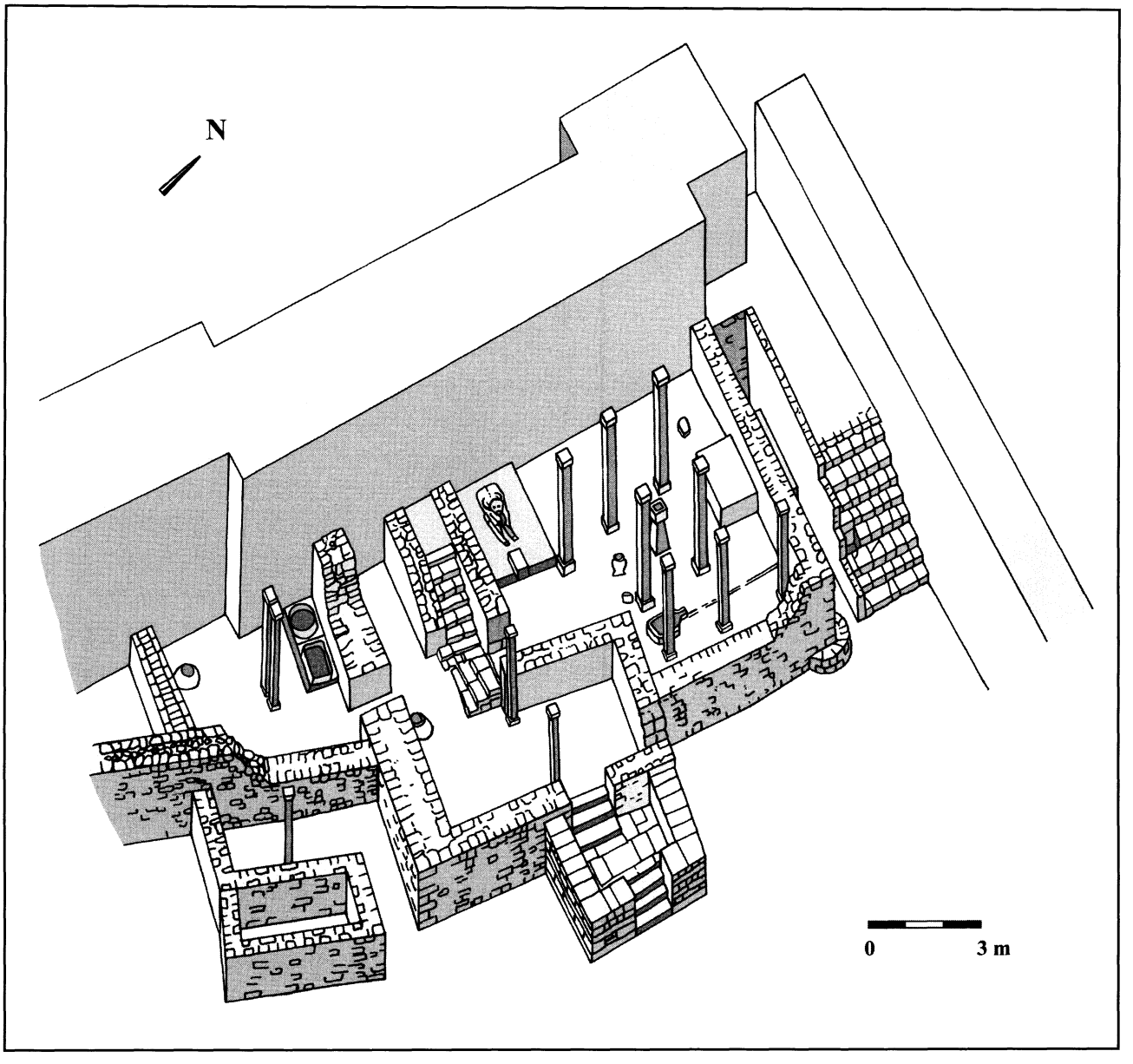

Figure 83. Sumhurām, intra muros *temple, 2nd phase, axonometric view with elements of reconstruction (drawing by V. Labianca and A. Sedov).*

In 1960 a number of votive objects were found in the top strata of the trench dug along the defence wall in the north-western sector of the city slightly east of the excavated building. This includes a bronze bell with the name *S¹yn* = Sayīn on it in raised letters, a bronze weight, slightly less than 3 kg, with the names *S¹yn/S²qr* = Sayīn/Shaqār and *Ys²hr³l* = Yashhur³īl on its lateral sides, fragments of a large bronze basin with loop handles, and fragments of two bronze votive plaques with dedications mentioning Sayīn dhū-³Ilīm, the capital hypostasis of the "federal" Ḥaḍrami deity (Ja 2889/3-4: *...s¹qny/ [S¹yn/ḏ-³lm/b-mḥrm]s¹/b-S¹mhrm/s¹[qnyt/ḏhbn] ...* = « ... has dedicated to [Sayīn, Master of ³Ilīm, in] His [temple,] in Sumhurām, the of[fering in bronze]...»; Ja 2890/1: *.../s¹qny]w/S¹yn/ḏ-³lm/s¹q[nyt/ḏhbn/* = «...have [dedicated] to Sayīn, Master of ³Ilīm, [an] offe[ring in bronze]...»)[115]. It seems quite probable that these pieces were part of offerings once deposited in the sanctuary of the excavated temple, and their occurrence outside the temple was the result of the destruction of the building (the votive bronze plaques, for instance, most probably were mounted on the exterior walls of the sanctuary).

Judging by the pottery assemblage and preliminary analyses of the numismatic material, the dating of the 1st phase could be placed between mid/late 1st - mid/late 3rd centuries AD. The dating of the 2nd phase is between mid/late 3rd and mid/late 4th centuries AD.

Extra muros *temple* - The ruins of an isolated building located *c.* 300 m north-west of Sumhurām, only a few meters above the water level in the Wādī Darbāt, were first recorded in 1960 by R.L. Cleveland. As he pointed out, in close vicinity to the ruins "... a number of scattered objects were found, including three small, badly weathered altars and two fragments belonging to a table-top with a two-line inscription on the front..."[116]. The character of the masonry walls led to the supposition that its construction was contemporary to Sumhurām, while the location of the ruins – that it might be an *extra muros* temple. Both suppositions were confirmed during the course of excavations by IMTO in 2003[117].

The core of the excavated building was an almost square room, *c.* 6.6x6.8 m in size (*fig. 84*; see *pl. LIII*, 2). An entrance, *c.* 1.1 m wide, was located in the centre of its south-western wall. A cubic podium, *c.* 2.0x2.0 m in size and 0.6 m of preserved height, was constructed against the central part of the north-eastern wall opposite to the entrance. A narrow, 0.4 m wide, and low, 0.4 m high, bench ran along the walls of the room and along the base of the podium. Two parallel benches, 0.7 m wide and 0.4 m high, divided the interior of the room into three naves (it seems quite probable that they were used also as foundations for four pillars, possibly wooden, which once supported the roof of the

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[115] Cf. Cleveland 1960, pp. 21-23, figs. 4, 5; Albright 1982, pp. 37-38, 87-88, 98, 104; Jamme 1979, pp. 101-102. One more votive bronze plaque, almost complete, with dedicative inscription mentioning Sayīn dhū-³Ilīm (Ja 402/3-4: *...S¹yn/ḏ-³lm/b-S¹mḥrm...*) was found on the floor of the room K 21 in the eastern area of the city (Jamme 1953; Albright 1982, pp. 42, 87, fig. 61).

[116] Cleveland 1960, pp. 23-24 (but the scholar considered that «...the objects were presumably carried there after the city [*i.e.* Sumhurām - *A.S.*] had fallen into ruins»). Unfortunately, no traces of the above mentioned inscription or its photograph could be found.

[117] Compare with the Cleveland's conclusion that «...no explanation of its location or isolation suggests itself, and even complete excavation might provide no answer to the question» (Cleveland 1960, p. 24).

structure). Two more benches, *c.* 0.5-0.7 m wide, 4.7-4.9 m long and 0.4 m high, occupied the lateral naves of the room (the bench in the north-western lateral nave was almost completely destroyed). A prismatic-shaped stone base of pillar-like incense-burner was found in the centre of the room. Several stone incense-burners, shells *Chlamys townsendi* used, most probably, also as incense-burners, a necklace of shells *Oliva bulbosa* and *Cypreaoidea*, a stone pendant, a fragment of glass beaker of, probably, Egyptian origin, and a bronze coin of ʿAmdān Bayān, king of Sabaʾ and dhū-Raydān (*c.* 80-100 AD) as well as several ceramic potsherds were found in the filling of the room. Judging by its layout and character of the finds we can suppose that the room was served as a sanctuary.

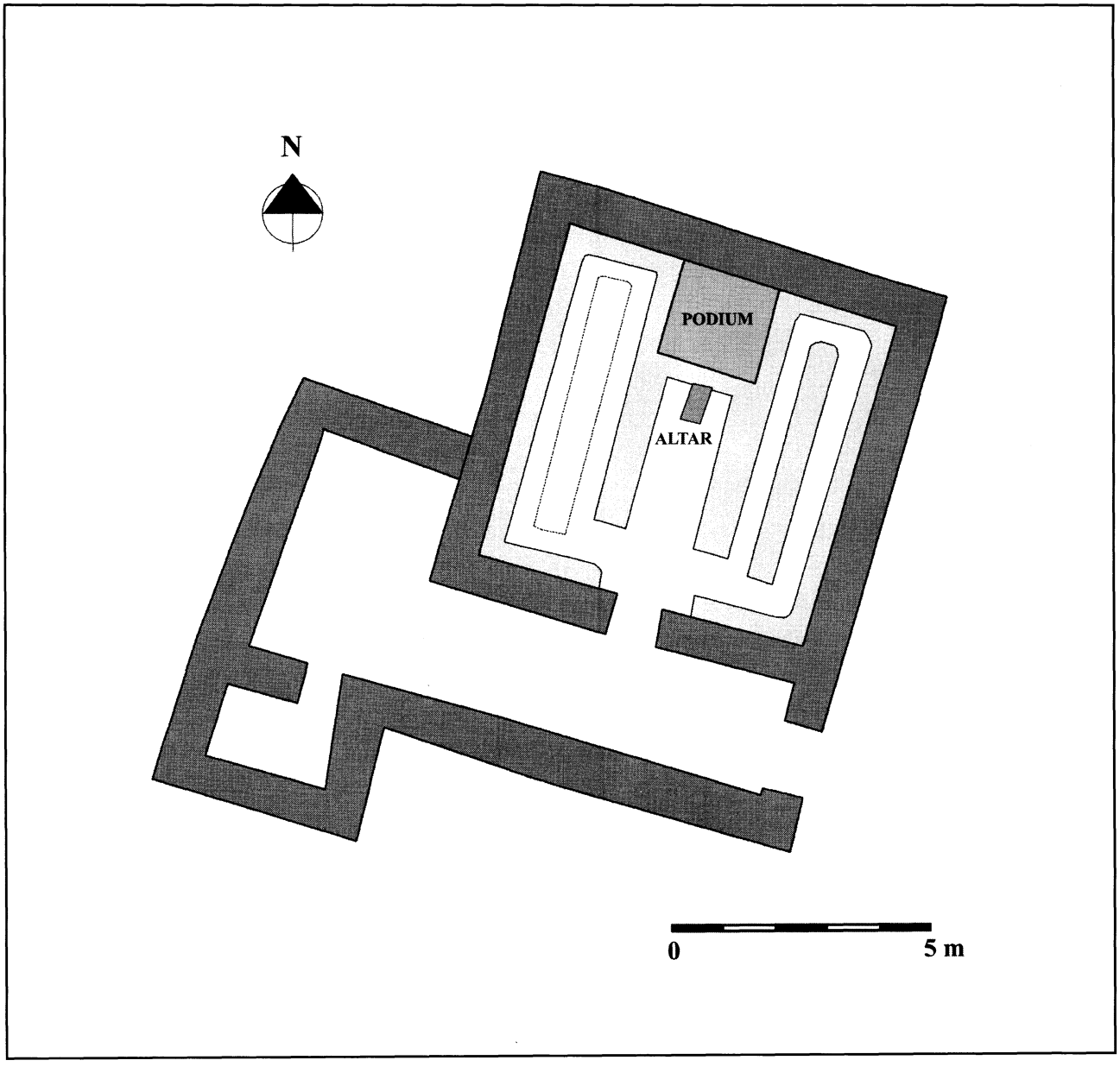

Figure 84. Sumhurām, extra muros *temple, general plan by 2003A season (drawing by I. Cerato).*

The passage connected the sanctuary with an antechamber, which had, probably, an L-shaped layout (its south-eastern part was not completely excavated). The room is 2.1-2.0 m wide and *c.* 10.5 m long. A passage, *c.* 0.8 m wide, located close to its south-western corner, led to a tower-like small room, *c.* 1.5x2.2 m in size. A complete stone incense-burner with rich dental decoration on one of its faces was found in the filling of the antechamber against its south-western wall.

The entrance to the temple was from its south-east corner, through the antechamber.

Judging by the preliminary analyses of the material found in the ruins of *extra muros* temple, we could assume that the date of its construction should go back to the 4th-3rd centuries BC. It was abandoned in the late 1st century BC, and after that was repeatedly destroyed by floods from the Wādī Darbāt. Later, till the present times, the ruins of building were used as temporary shelters by Bedouins and local villagers (remains of several open fire-places, *madhbahā*, were traced in the sanctuary and antechamber).

Monumental building - A structure identified by the American excavators as an *intra muros* temple was unearthed at the middle of the northern side of the fortress, against the city wall, and in 12.0 m west of the main gate (*figs. 85-86*).

It was so far the largest building in the ancient city with enormously wide walls: the northern wall was originally 2.8-3.0 m thick and was increased to the width of *c.* 7.0 m, the eastern wall was *c.* 3.5 m thick, the western wall was 5.1 m thick at the ends and 2.4 m in the middle, the southern wall was 6.3 m thick at the ends and 5.3 m in the middle (its external façade was cut with a niche, 6.0 m wide and 1.0 m deep)[118].

The original core of the structure was almost a square courtyard, 11.5x11.7-11.8 m in size, but 1.9 m of its space was taken up by the foundation of a staircase erected along the eastern wall. Only three steps of the staircase preserved, and their stones measured 1.55 m long, 0.3 m wide and 0.22 m high. The stairs were bordered by a parapet 0.35 m wide running along their western side. The stairway started in 1.3 m from the south-west corner of the courtyard, and led, as it was supposed, to the square on the top of the northern wall which original space was later increased by additional walls built inside the courtyard (the courtyard dimension was decreased accordingly). As Albright estimated, there were approximately 322 square meters of floor space on the walls which were probably 7.0 to 8.0 m high (the preserved height of the walls is *c.* 5.5 m above the floor level), and were crowned inside and outside with a parapet, probably similar to that one on the stairs[119].

The access to the courtyard was in the south end of the eastern wall, at the foot of the stairs. It was arrange as a narrow, 0.6-0.8 m wide, and low, 1.8-2.0 m high, passageway through the eastern wall, and had a 0.5 m wide wooden (?) door near the outer end. The passage was not straight, but had an offset to the north of over a meter within the wall. Its walls were plastered and showed considerable wear, especially on the corners.

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[118] The description is based on the following publications: ALBRIGHT 1953; 1980; 1982, pp. 19-26.

[119] ALBRIGHT 1982, p. 24; but cf. 1953, p. 71, where he estimated the floor space on the walls of the "tower" as 266 square meters.

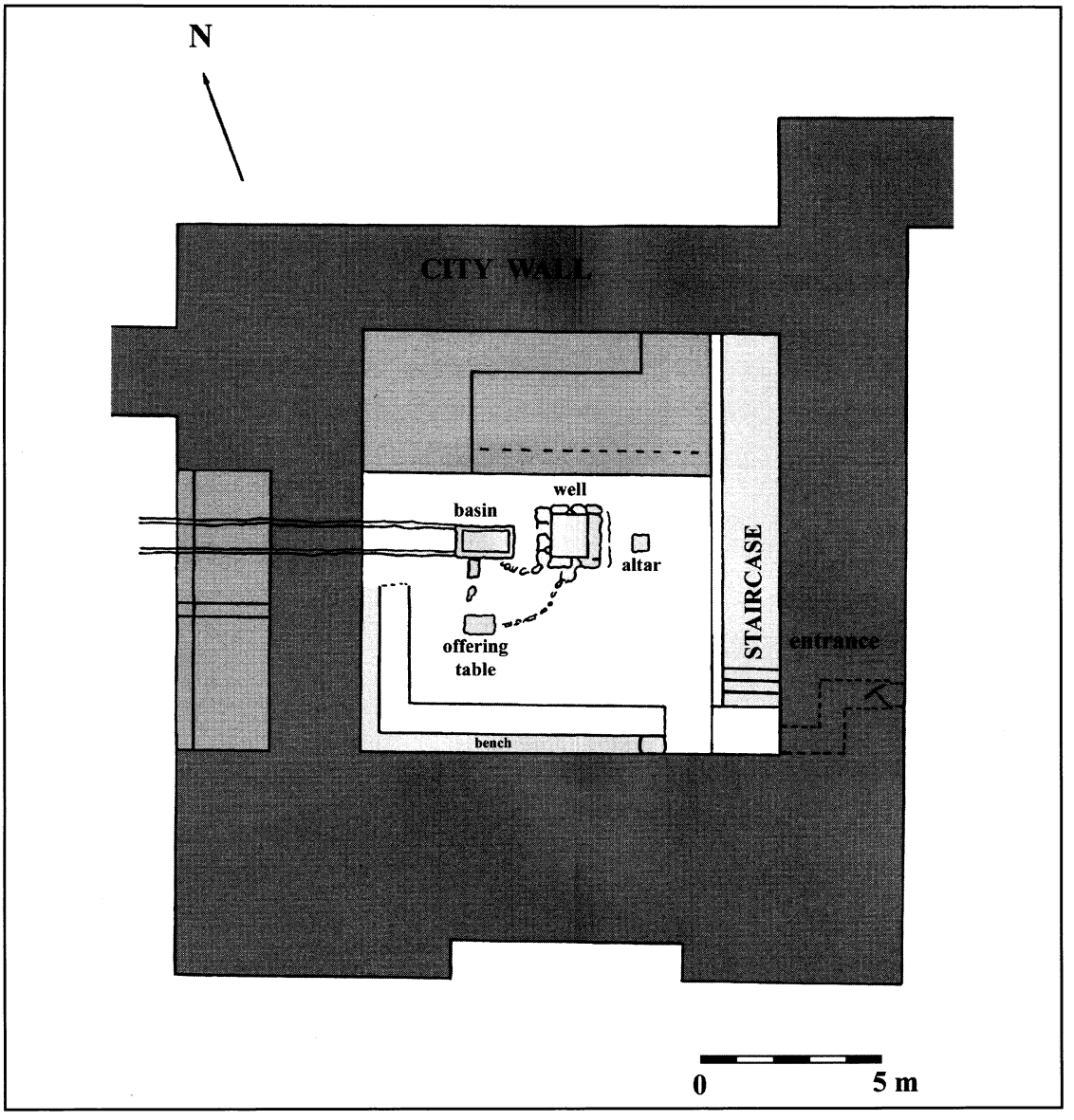

Figure 85. Sumhurām, monumental building, general plan (after Albright 1982, pl. 7).

In the south-eastern corner of the courtyard the passage ended with a stone pavement, 1.3x1.9 m in size.

Along most of the southern and western walls was a stone bench, 0.5 m wide and 0.4 m high, which had been topped with clay (mud-bricks?). About 0.7 m in front of the bench, a low stone wall, 0.5 m wide and 0.1-0.2 m high, was erected to protect, according to Albright, a space along the bench from the accumulated filling in the courtyard. As he noted, «floor of ashes grew to the thickness of nearly a meter during the time of the temple was in use» and it was necessary to protect the bench and the space along it destined probably «for the worshippers to sit on while attending the ceremony and partaking of the sacrificial meal»[120].

[120] ALBRIGHT 1953, p. 72; 1982, p. 22.

The centre of the courtyard contained an ablution system consisting of a well, a stone basin, a drain channel, and a couple of altars or offering tables intended for sacrifices connected with fire and ablutions. The well was 1.1x1.25 m on its top, and had an overground stone superstructure rectangular in layout made of fine-dressed stone blocks. The well tapered down, and at 25.6 m deep was only 1.0x1.0 m in size. Its walls were well-lined with cut stones all the way down. In 0.5 m to the west of the well a limestone basin, 1.45 m long, 0.55 m wide and 0.4 m deep (inside dimensions), was mounted on the floor of the courtyard. A hole, 8 cm in diameter, was drilled partway up in the eastern side of the basin, facing the well, while its opposite side had a slightly larger hole at the bottom. The west side of the basin had also a wide notch cut out as an overflow.

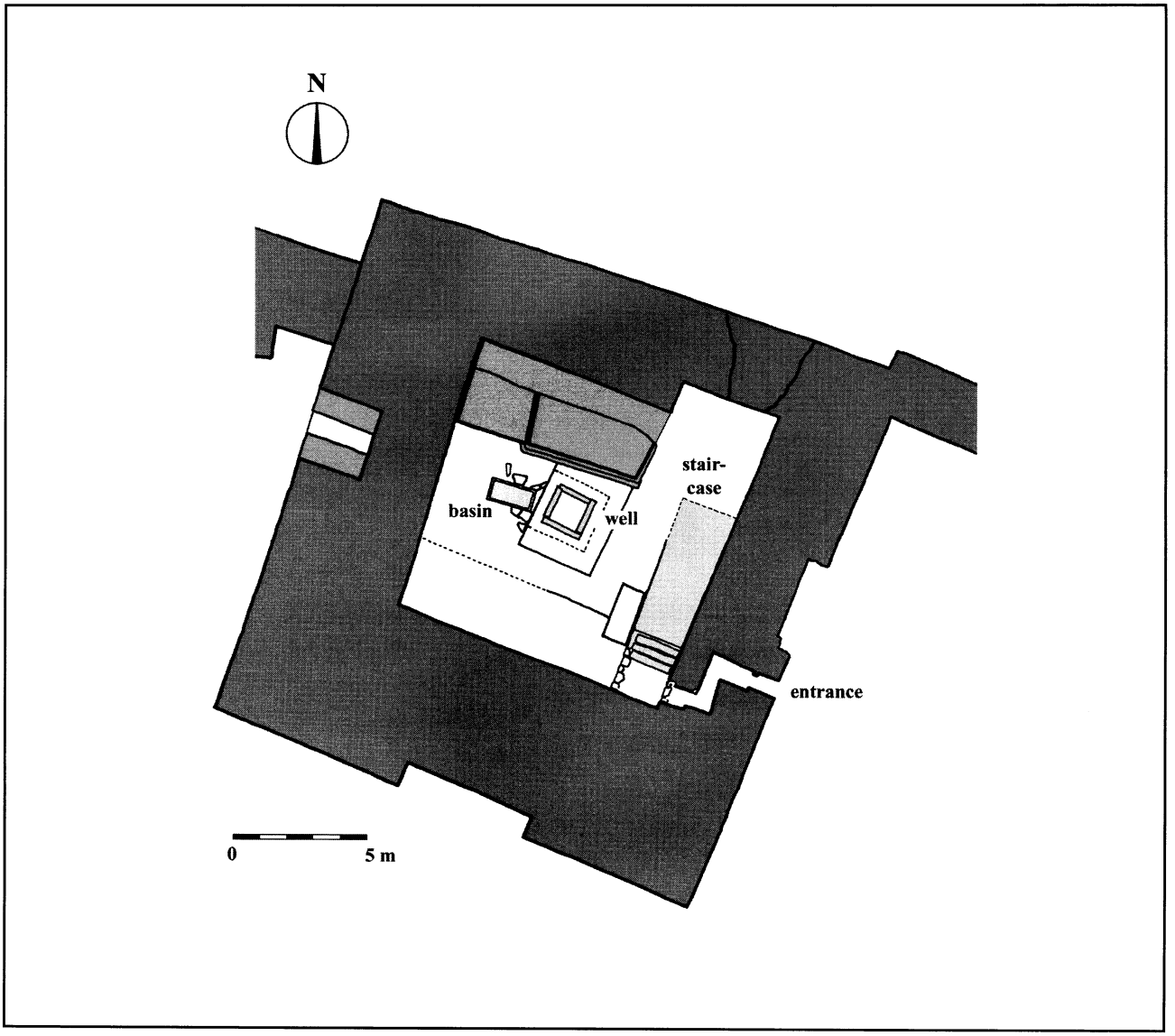

Figure 86. Sumhurām, monumental building, general plan (drawing by V. Labianca).

Between the well and the basin there was a stone-cemented floor or platform sloping to the holes in the eastern side of the basin. As Albright pointed out, «evidently water [from the well] was at first poured into the tank letting it overflow and run off. Later the holes were cut into both ends of the tank [*i.e.* basin] and the platform constructed so as to carry off any water that was spilled while lifting the bucket from the well»[121]. From the hole in the western side of the basin, the water ran out into the drain channel over 0.5 m wide, which was mounted *c.* 0.5 m lower than the bottom of the basin (the latter probably was lifted during the one of the last reconstruction of the temple).

The sides of the channel were composed of long thin stones laid on edge, while small stones of various sizes constituted the bottom. The channel led through a passageway, 0.8 m wide and 1.5 m high from the floor of the channel, constructed in the west wall of the temple. In *c.* 1.0 m outside the structure it turned north and led through a small hole in the northern city wall somewhere outside the fortress. The construction and filling of the middle part of the western wall of the building was rather unusual which allowed Albright to locate here, next to the south of the passageway for the water channel, an additional room «for the priests and temple servants» with a dimension of 2.0x3.8 m[122]. But in all probability such features were because of the drain construction, and can be satisfactory explained by the hard task to build the secure passageway for water which must have a permanent access for cleaning the channel in such a thick wall.

Two altars were erected near the well, one to the south-west and the other, and a smaller one, to the east. The top of the larger altar was a limestone offering table, 50x90 cm in size and 10 to 20 cm thick, dressed with a low rim around the edge which is now almost completely has been worn off. The offering table was placed on a low base built up of small stones and mud. The altar rested on a platform ringed by small stones one step down from the paved floor between the well and the basin. Apparently, it was a place where the priest or another officiator stood when offerings were made on the altar. One meter east of the well is another altar nearly half the size and built of a rather crude stone rested on very low mud and stone foundation. Both altars had indications of fire and water erosion. It looks like the altars were used for burnt and libation offerings.

Albright gives a detailed description of the filling above the temple floor around the well and the altars, which gave an idea of what kind of offerings, were made. Apparently, the remains of the sacrifices were never removed, but were trampled into the floor. Investigation of the area revealed wood ashes and small bits of twigs, slightly burnt, bits of sheep or goats, chicken and, perhaps, other fowl, and, in abundance, fish bones. Only one small piece of a large bone, apparently bovine, was found. Very often the bones showed effect of fire. In addition, a few nuggets of frankincense occurred in the fill, but, according to Albright, there was no indication that incense was used in the sacrifices.

It seems that the monumental building was hypaethral: there is no evidence for support of a roof. It is quite likely, that services and rituals were performed in front of the altars under the open sky. On the other hand, there was a huge space on the top of the temple walls, especially above the northern one, which might be apparently used for building some light roofed constructions. Unfortunately, no

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[121] ALBRIGHT 1982, p. 21.
[122] ALBRIGHT 1982, p. 25.

remains of such hypothetical constructions have been preserved which makes all suggestions about their character to be mere speculation.

No literal documents, which might help to identify the monumental building as a temple, were found during the course of the excavation in the ruins of the above-mentioned structure. Some characteristic features of the layout of the excavated building such as the big courtyard intended for performances, the dominant position of the structure in the fortress, the presence of the altars and the contents of the filling in the courtyard considered to be the remains of sacrifices as well as some artefacts revealed during the excavation allow the American scholars to suggest the ritual function of the building. In addition to 14 bronze coins, unfortunately not identifiable in the catalogue of the 1982 publication, the following objects considered to be the offerings were found in the courtyard: a fragment of a bull's-head spout of an offering table (in the well, at a depth of *c.* 15 m), a limestone plate with a bas-relief representing a bull with inscription (Ja 2882: 𐩲𐩣𐩺 = *ṯwrn*) above his back (near the floor level, west of the larger altar), two limestone plaques each with man's face in full front lightly engraved in the centre (near floor level), a miniature bronze figurine of a running dog, probably fragment of a vessel or an oil lamp (above floor level), fragment of a bronze finger ring and a complete shell finger ring (near and at floor level), bronze disc, *c.* 20 cm in diameter, with rounded rim off one side 3 mm thick and 2 cm wide, probably a mirror (?) (near the floor level)[123].

Nevertheless, it must be concluded that Albright's identification of the monumental building in Sumhurām as an *intra muros* temple is based on very weak evidence, and if we compare it with the known temples from Ḥaḍramawt, it is hard to see any significant similarities, especially in the architecture[124]. We can suppose that for the ancient inhabitants of the Ḥaḍrami stronghold in the land of Saʾkalān established on the Dhofari coast by the colonists from Shabwa to guard the region of the "frankincense-bearing land" and, probably, to store collecting incense before its dispatch to *Qnʾ* by see or/and to Shabwa by land, the well with sweet water was of vital importance. It was not only perfectly fortified by the monumental structure with enormously wide walls, but was, probably, also placed under the protection of a Ḥaḍrami deity, to whom a certain religious ceremonies using altars were performed.

19. ḤANŪN

The small site of Ḥanūn is situated in about 55 km as the crow flies from the ancient town of Sumhurām in the Khor Rori lagoon, behind the Jabal al-Qara mountain, at the beginning of the Nejd area. R. Cleveland, on behalf of the American Foundation for the Study of Man, explored the site in the early 1960s[125].

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[123] ALBRIGHT 1982, pp. 97, 100-103 (cat. nos. 105, 127, 130, 131, 136, 147, 152, 175). On the inscription Ja 2882 see JAMME 1979, p. 97.

[124] It should be pointed out that the hypothetical reconstruction of the monumental building in Sumhurām as a "palace" proposed by Paolo M. Costa (COSTA 1997, p. 436, fig. 4) has no archaeological grounds either.

[125] CLEVELAND 1960, pp. 16-18; see also ALBRIGHT 1982, pp. 69-70.

The ruins stand on the western edge of the deep Wādī Ḥanūn running roughly in a north-westerly direction. Along the river bed there is a more or less permanent natural pool of sweet water all year round. The core of the complex (see *pl. LIV*, 1) is the structure, 13.0x26.5 m in size, with nine long narrow storage rooms with plastered floors and sides arranged on both sides of the central corridor or passageway, four rooms on its eastern side, and five rooms on the western side, and connected with the latter through the entrances less than 1.0 m wide with very high, *c.* 1.0 m, doorsteps. The internal dimensions of the rooms are 1.9-2.0x8.2-8.5 m. The central corridor is *c.* 3.0 m wide. An additional room, *c.* 3.0x10.5 m in size, with a wide opening of about 1.5 m from the north, occupied the western side of the structure. While for the entire complex the storage functions were proposed ("facility for the collection of frankincense"), there are some grounds to suggest that the western room may have been used as a dwelling. A few meters south of the main structure the ruins a small isolated building, apparently a temple, were excavated (see *pl. LIV*, 2).

Temple - The building is rectangular in layout, with outside dimensions of 3.15x5.15 m. It was oriented in a north-south axis, and had an entrance, *c.* 1.0 m wide, from the northern side. A single room, rectangular in layout and *c.* 2.5x4.5 m in size, occupied the interior of the structure. A limestone incense altar with traces remaining of a one-line South Arabian inscription across the top of the face, unfortunately almost completely obliterated, was found in the upper part of the debris filled up the room, and a pottery shard, as was stated by Cleveland, "of Mediterranean origin" – on its floor.

Already Cleveland, although with some doubts, proposed the religious function of the excavated structure. He also stated that the entire complex at Ḥanūn was "roughly contemporary with the ancient city of Sumhurām on the coast" [126]. If we take into account such finds as the incense altar as well as the content of the large dedicatory inscription Ja 892 previously discovered in the ruins[127], the identification of the isolated building at Ḥanūn (ancient *Sa'nan* according to the inscription Ja 892) as ruins of the temple sacred to the capital hypostasis of the "federal" Ḥaḍramawt deity Sayīn seems very possible.

[126] Cleveland 1960, p. 18.

[127] On the reading and translation of the inscription Ja 892 see Jamme 1967, pp. 146-148; Albright 1982, p. 89, fig. 79.

APPENDIX II

RADIOCARBON DATES AND CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF THE TEMPLES AT RAYBŪN OASIS

Table 1

TEMPLES OF THE RAYBŪN OASIS. CALIBRATED RADIOCARBON DATES*

##	LAB ##	SITE, CONTEXT AND DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE	RADIOCARBON AGE BP	CALIBRATED AD/BC AGE RANGES	
				68.3% (1 *sigma*) confidence interval	95.4% (2 *sigma*) confidence interval
1	GIN-4109	Raybūn I/84. Rabḥan temple, Building 2 ("house of priest"), central corridor. Charcoal from burnt wooden framework of internal walls.	2590±20	810÷788 BC	804÷775 BC
2	GIN-4113	Raybūn I/84. Raḥban temple, Building 3 ("early sanctuary"), pavement in the hall. Charcoal from burnt wooden framework of external walls.	2310±30	398÷370 BC	404÷368 BC 288÷250 BC 224÷212 BC
3	GIN-4108	Raybūn I/84. Raḥban temple, passage between Buildings 2 and 3, stratum at the foot of the stone socle of the Building 2 (first floor of occupation). Charcoal.	2690±80	916÷794 BC	1026÷760 BC 678÷658 BC 636÷550 BC
4	GIN-4111	Raybūn I/84. Raḥban temple, passage between Buildings 2 and 3, stratum at the foot of the stone socle of the Building 3. Charcoal.	3400±70	1860÷1852 BC 1752÷1606 BC 1560÷1532 BC	1878÷1834 BC 1822÷1796 BC 1788÷1520 BC
5	Le-3100	Raybūn I/88. Raḥban temple, passage between Buildings 2 and 3, upper stratum. Charcoal.	1960±50	AD 4÷86 AD 96÷118	50 BC÷AD 144 AD 172÷204

* Analyses were made in the Radiocarbon laboratory of the Institute of the History of Material Culture Russian Academy of Sciences, St.-Petersburg (sigla Le), in the Laboratory of absolute chronology and isotope geochemistry of the Geological Institute Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow (sigla GIN). Calibration was made by Prof. G.I. Zayceva, the Head of the Radiocarbon laboratory of the Institute of the History of Material Culture Russian Academy of Sciences, St.-Petersburg, using Seattle/Groningen method.

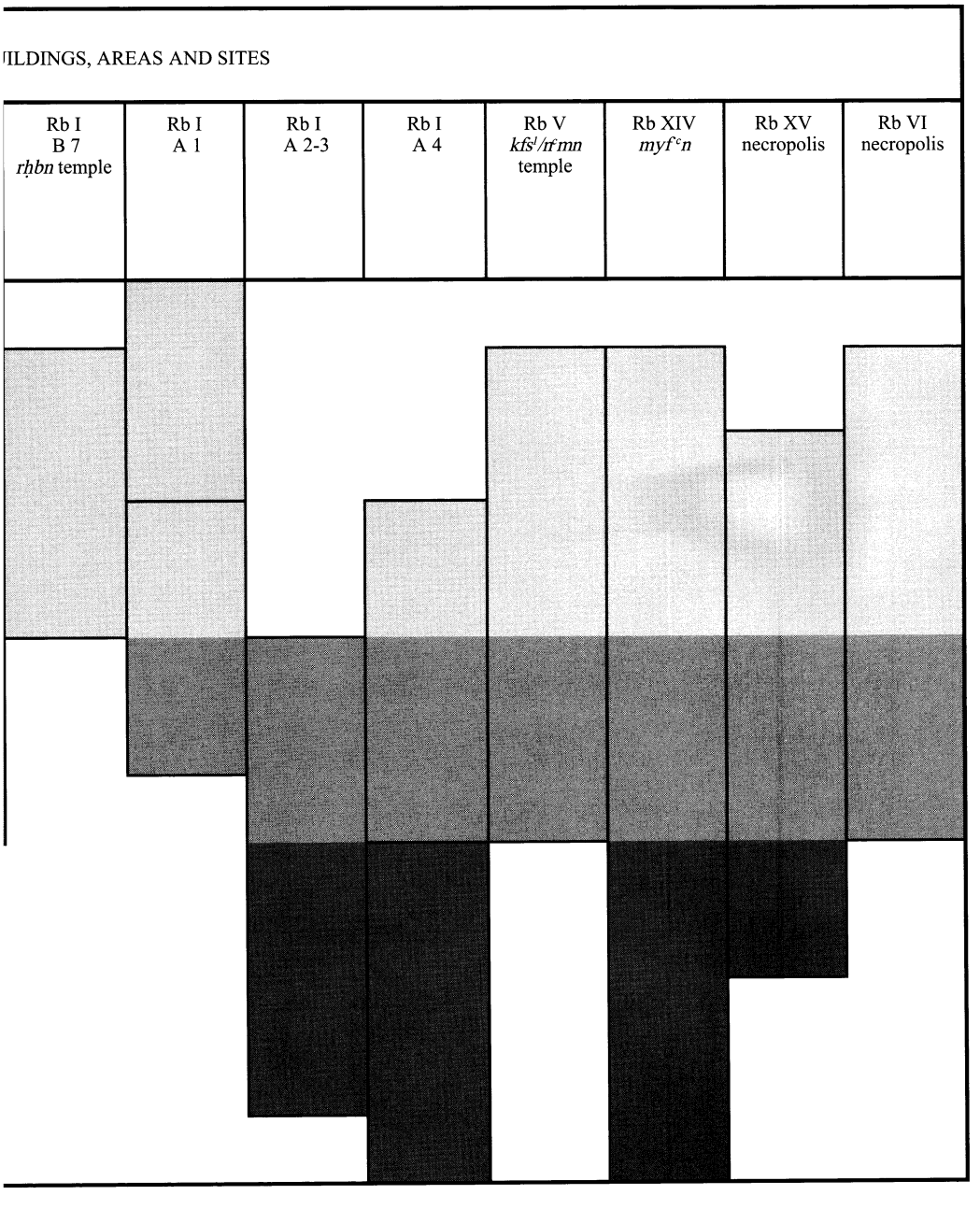
6	Le-3437	Raybūn I/89. Raḥban temple, Building 4 ("main sanctuary"), upper stratum. Charcoal from burnt wooden framework of external walls.	2240±40	368÷352 BC 308÷206 BC	384÷198 BC
7	Le-3438	Raybūn I/89. Raḥban temple, Building 4 ("main sanctuary"), upper stratum. Charcoal from burnt wooden framework of external walls.	2320±50	408÷356 BC 288÷250 BC 226÷210 BC	516÷434 BC 424÷342 BC 326÷200 BC
8	Le-4301	Raybūn I/90. Raḥban temple, Building 4 ("main sanctuary"), upper stratum. Charcoal from burnt wooden framework of external walls.	2210±160	410÷30 BC 20÷10 BC	760÷620 BC 600 BC÷AD 90 AD 100÷120
9	Le-3104	Raybūn V/88. Kafas/Naᶜmān temple, Building 1 ("refectory"), room 3. Charcoal from burnt wooden beams of the roof (stratum of destruction).	2340±80	748÷738 BC 526÷354 BC 296÷208 BC	762÷628 BC 596÷574 BC 558÷194 BC
10	Le-4658	Raybūn V/91. Kafas/Naᶜmān temple, Building 2 ("sanctuary"), pavement in the western part of the hall. Charcoal from burnt wooden beams of the roof (stratum of destruction).	2280±50	394÷356 BC 294÷244 BC 232÷208 BC	400÷338 BC 330÷200 BC
11	Le-4660	Raybūn V/91. Kafas/Naᶜmān temple, Building 2 ("sanctuary"), pavement of the hall. Charcoal from burnt wooden beams of the roof (stratum of destruction).	2220±50	364÷336 BC 330÷280 BC 260÷200 BC	390÷162 BC 132÷126 BC
12	Le-4659	Raybūn V/91. Kafas/Naᶜmān temple, Building 2 ("sanctuary"), pavement of the hall. Charcoal from burnt wooden beams of the roof (stratum of destruction).	2210±60	364÷278 BC 262÷192 BC	392÷106 BC
13	Le-4657	Raybūn V/91. Kafas/Naᶜmān temple, Building 2 ("sanctuary"), pavement of the hall. Charcoal from burnt wooden beams of the roof (stratum of destruction).	2190±50	360÷284 BC 256÷178 BC	380÷100 BC
14	Le-3975	Raybūn XIV/89. Mayfaᶜān temple, debris at the foot of the monumental platform (stratum of destruction). Charcoal.	1730±90	AD 222÷426	AD 122÷538
15	Le-4312	Raybūn XIV/89. Mayfaᶜān temple, pavement in the gallery to the south of Building 1 ("sanctuary"), stratum of destruction. Charcoal.	1960±170	170 BC÷AD 250	370 BC÷AD 420
16	Le-4697	Raybūn XIV/89. Mayfaᶜān temple, debris above the lateral staircase. Charcoal from burnt wooden framework of the niche in the monumental platform.	2030±55	92 BC÷AD 86 64 BC÷AD 64	174 BC÷AD 82

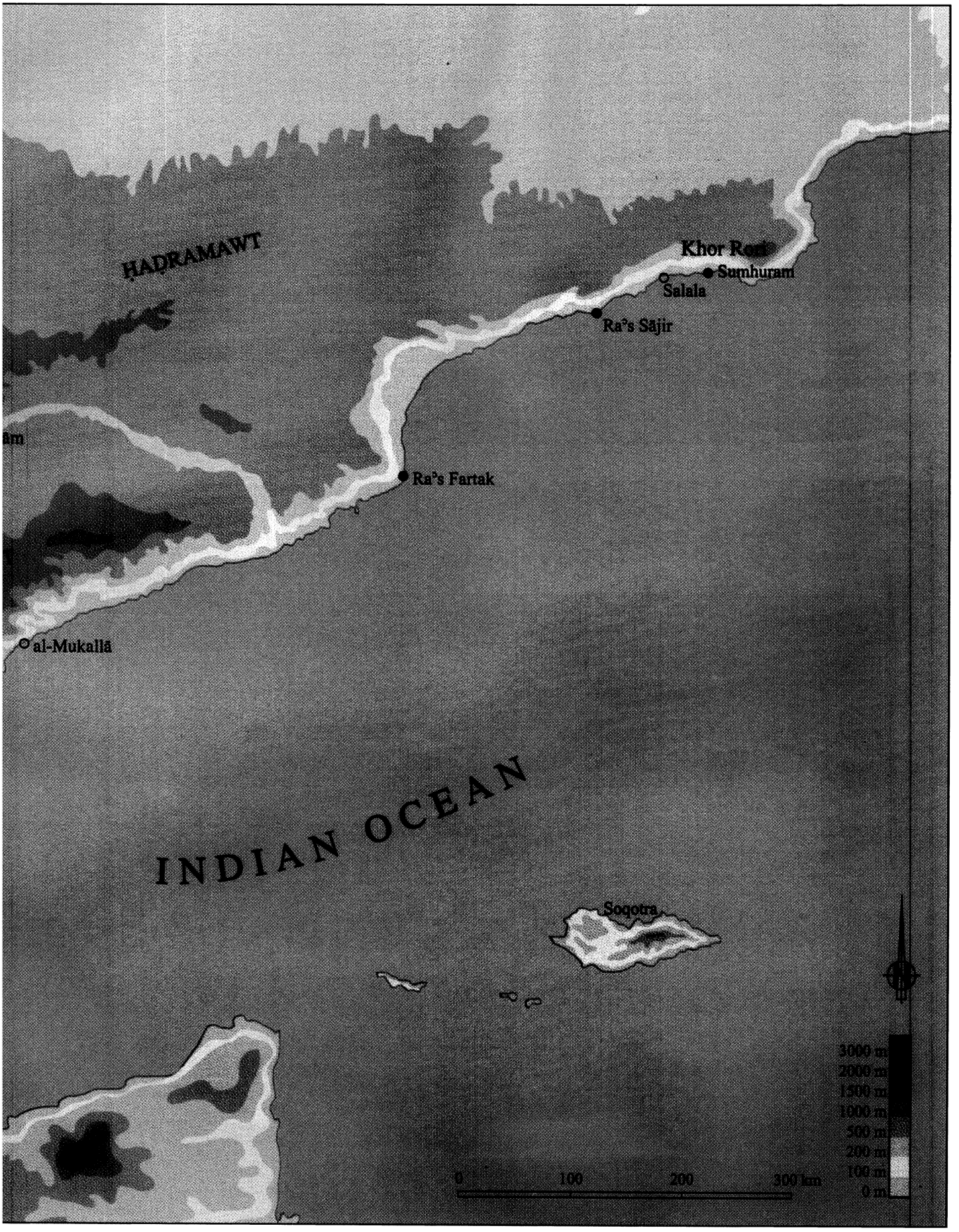
17	Le-4693	Raybūn XIV/89. Mayfaᶜān temple, debris above the lateral staircase. Charcoal from burnt wooden framework of the niche in the monumental platform.	2040±60	106 BC÷AD 24 36 BC÷AD 58	188 BC÷AD 80
18	Le-4313	Raybūn XIV/90. Mayfaᶜān temple, debris at the foot of the monumental platform (stratum of destruction). Charcoal.	2040±170	350÷290 BC 240÷230 BC 210 BC÷AD 140	410 BC÷AD 390
19	Le-3441	Raybūn XIV/89. Mayfaᶜān temple, pavement in the gallery around Building 1 ("sanctuary"). Charcoal from burnt wooden framework of the gallery walls.	2170±60	358÷288 BC 250÷226 BC 212÷114 BC	370÷54 BC
20	Le-3112	Raybūn XIV/88. Mayfaᶜān temple, debris at the foot of the monumental platform. Charcoal.	2180±50	358÷286 BC 254÷162 BC	372÷94 BC 82÷66 BC
21	Le-4311	Raybūn XIV/90. Mayfaᶜān temple, debris at the foot of the monumental platform. Charcoal.	2180±140	380÷50 BC	760÷690 BC 540 BC÷AD 130
22	Le-3442	Raybūn XIV/89. Mayfaᶜān temple, pavement in the gallery around Building 1 ("sanctuary"). Charcoal from burnt wooden framework of the gallery walls.	2190±40	358÷288 BC 252÷222 BC 212÷184 BC	372÷154 BC 144÷116 BC

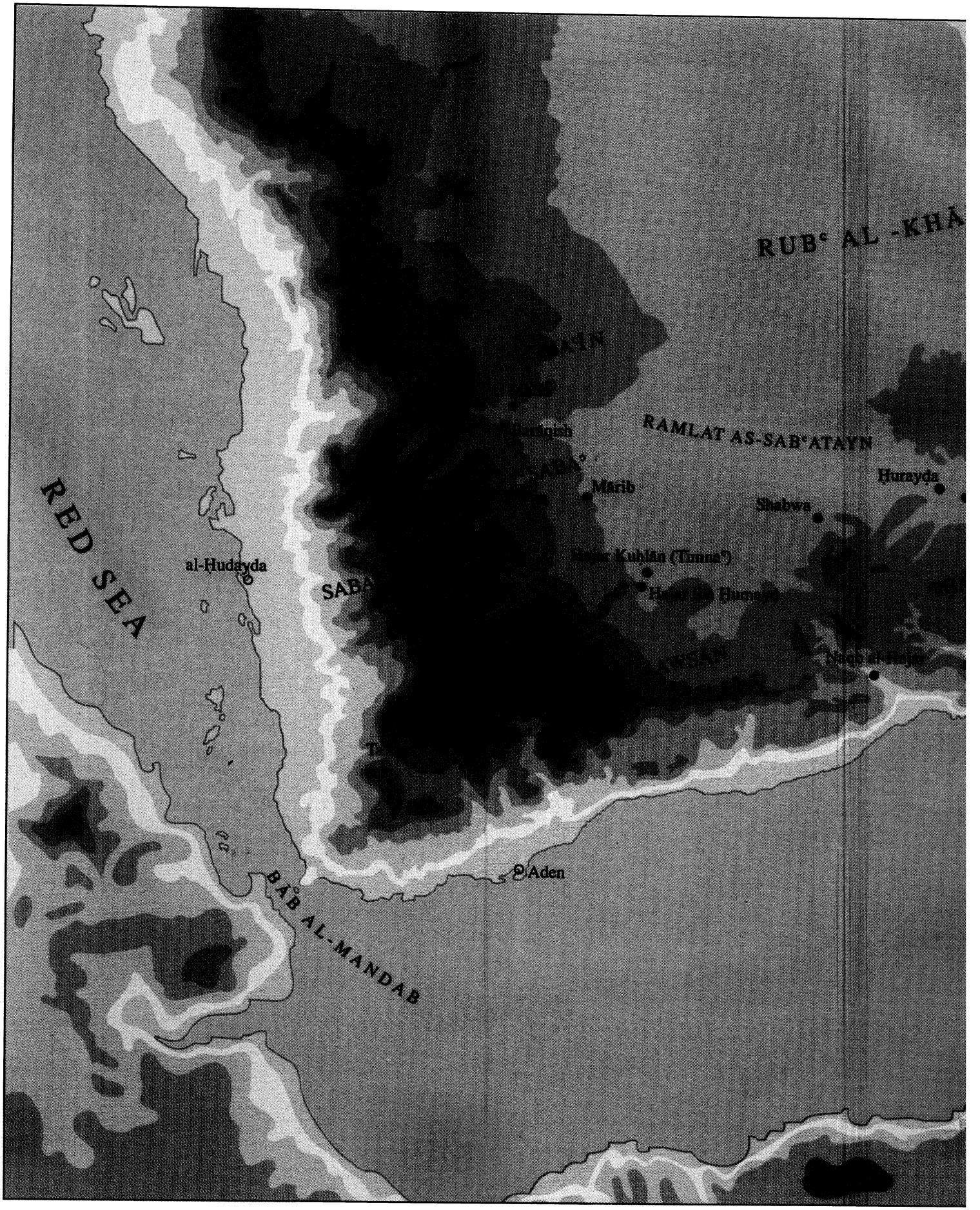
Table 2

SITES AT THE RAYBŪN OASIS. CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE

PERIODS	PHASES	DATES	Rb I B 1 *ḥḍrn* temple	Rb I B 2 *rḥbn* temple	Rb I B 3 *rḥbn* temple	Rb I B 4 *rḥbn* temple
LR	LR-III	AD 100				
	LR-II	100 BC 200 BC				
	LR-I	300 BC 400 BC				
MR	MR-II	500 BC				
	MR-I	600 BC 700 BC				
ER	ER-III	800 BC				
	ER-II	900 BC 1000 BC				
	ER-I	1100 BC 1200 BC				


ILDINGS, AREAS AND SITES
Rb I B 7 *rḥbn* temple
Rb I A 1
Rb I A 2-3
Rb I A 4
Rb V *kfs*[l]/*rf mn* temple
Rb XIV *myf*[c]*n*
Rb XV necropolis
Rb VI necropolis


ḤADRAMAWT
Khor Rori
Sumhuram
Salala
Raʾs Sājir
Raʾs Fartak
al-Mukallā
INDIAN OCEAN
Soqotra
0
100
200
300 km
3000 m
2000 m
1500 m
1000 m
500 m
200 m
100 m
0 m


RUBʿ AL -KHA
RAMLAT AS-SABʿATAYN
Marib
Shabwa
Hurayda
al-Hudayda
RED SEA
Aden
BĀB AL-MANDAB

APPENDIX III

EPIGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION FROM ḤAḌRAMAWT

S.A. Frantsouzoff

Among the Ḥaḍramitic inscriptions the photographs of which are reproduced in the present monograph there are some texts that have not yet been edited. They are published below according to the scheme elaborated for the IDIS (FRANTSOUZOFF 2001, pp. 35-36).

No. 1 (*pl. XXIX*, 1)

Sigla: Rb XIV/89 no. 246a-d=SOYCE 2161.

Provenance: Mayfaᶜān temple (Raybūn XIV), roofed gallery around the sanctuary, *in situ.*

Description: the complete dedicatory inscription on four limestone facing slabs mounted into the north-western wall of the gallery. The upper slab is damaged from above. The bench placed in the roofed gallery adjoins directly the two lower slabs.

Dimensions: H(slab 1) = 15; H(slab 2) = 23; H(slab 3) = 17; H(slab 4) = 25; L = 32; h = 8-9; l = 3,5-4.

P = 0,88.

Bibliography: FRANTSOUZOFF 2003 b.

Script: the enlarged proportions of the characters, the strictly horizontal bar of the *n*, the large circles of the *ᶜayn*, the *ṯ* , the *q*, the *y* and the *w*, the 'closed' *m* with two symmetrical isosceles triangles as well as the use of the attached pronoun *-hw* are typical for the earliest stage in the palaeographic evolution of Ḥaḍramitic inscriptions originated in Raybūn and in the region of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt as a whole (period An. 1)[1].

[1] On the possible absolute chronology of the epigraphical periods in Raybūn inscriptions marked with symbols An. 1-3 and R. see FRANTSOUZOFF 2001, pp. 31-48.

Copy, transcription and translation:

1	𐩱𐩣#𐩤𐩱𐩲∘	*ʿṯbᵐ#/b=*	ʿAthbᵘᵐ son
2	𐩤𐩤𐩧𐩺𐩣𐩡	*-n/Ḥtmᵐ*	of Ḥatmᵘᵐ
3	𐩣𐩲𐩡𐩺𐩺𐩣	*/hqny/*	dedicated to
4	𐩺𐩡𐩣𐩡𐩨	*Sʾyn/nf=*	Siyān his
5	∘𐩺𐩨	*sʾ-hw*	soul.
6	𐩺𐩱∘	*w-b-Q=*	And by (the name of) Qa-
7	𐩤𐩲	*ṯm*	tham.

Commentary:

l. 1, *ʿṯbᵐ*: this name, which is probably attested in Raybūn-Ḥaḍrān 127, does not occur in the South Arabian epigraphy outside Raybūn.

l. 2, *Ḥtmᵐ*: first occurrence of this proper noun in the onomasticon of ancient Yemen. However, it is found without mīmation in North Arabian inscriptions (Lankester Harding 1971, p. 176).

ll. 6-7, *w-b-Qṯm*: this name occurs once in Sabaic (CIH 469/1; IDIS, 7, p. 307). It seems to be attested with mīmation (*Qṯmᵐ*) in a graffito originating in the territory of Ḥaḍramawt (Ry 631)[2]. In the temple of Mayfaʿān there are many commemorative texts of Qatham (see, for example, **No. 18**) and some other inscriptions mentioning him (see **No. 17**) which date from the earliest period in the history of this site (An. 1). In all probability, the same person who occupied a rather high position in the society of Raybūn – that of a priest, of a community's elder or even of its chief – ordered them. In any case this text contains the unique final invocation in the local epigraphic tradition. Usually in South Arabian inscriptions only deities and rulers were mentioned in invocative formulae.

No. 2 (*pl. XXIX*, 2)

Siglum: SOYCE 644.

Provenance: Raḥbān temple (Raybūn I settlement, building 3, exterior northern wall of the "early sanctuary"), *in situ,* 1984 campaign.

Description: the complete commemorative inscription on a limestone facing slab, which was seriously damaged and broken in several pieces.

Dimensions: no data.

Script: the large circle of the *ʿayn*, the 'closed' *m* with two symmetrical isosceles triangles, the horizontal bar of the *n* and the big triangle of the *d* gave an opportunity to attribute this text to An. 1.

Copy, transcription and translation:

𐩦𐩡#∘𐩤∘	*ʿmʿ#nd*	ʿAmmīʿanad

[2] However, the reading of the final *m* in it is very dubious (see Ryckmans G. 1962, p. 215, pl. VIII).

Commentary:

this woman's name is attested in SOYCE 645/1 originated in the same building (Bauer 1995, pp. 131-132, fig. 12) as well as in the unpublished text Rb XIV/90 no. 281=SOYCE 2596/1 from the Mayfaᶜān temple. It does not occur outside Raybūn.

No. 3 (*pl. XLVII*, 1)

Siglum: RAMRY/93 no. 1.

Provenance: in all probability, from the settlement of Jūja. However, it is not excluded that this text originated in another site of Inner Ḥaḍramawt.

Description: the upper part of a fragmentary stele decorated with a geometrical ornament consisting of horizontal and vertical relief lines.

Dimensions: no data.

Script: the narrow proportions of the characters, the small circles of the *w*, of the *q*, of the *y* and of the *ṯ*, the slightly inclined bar in the *n* and in the 'apex' of the *alif*, the apices of the triangles of the *m* displaced upwards and downwards permit to date this fragment from An. 2 or An. 3.

Copy and transcription:

1	𐩣𐩯𐩱𐩣𐩲𐩺𐩱𐩺𐩧𐩱𐩲𐩨)𐩠	*Gwrᵓl/mqyny^{hn}/bn*
2	𐩧𐩨𐩱𐩣𐩲𐩺𐩱𐩺𐩧(𐩨/𐩲) [𐩱...]	*[.../](h/sˢ)qny/Sˢyn/mṯ =*
[3]	[...𐩱𐩲𐩧𐩣]	*[nd^{hn}/...]*

Translation:

1 Gawrᵓil, the servant of the *qayn*'s office (the blacksmith ?), son of
2 [...] dedicated to Siyān [the] in-
3 [scription ...]

Commentary:

l. 1, *Gwrᵓl*: first occurrence of this name in the onomasticon of ancient Arabia. Its first element *GWR* occurs in two other personal nouns attested in the epigraphy of the Raḥbān temple: *Gwrᶜkb* (Rb I/84 bld. 3 lev. I no. 220a-c=SOYCE 661) and *Gwrnᶜm* (Rb I/89 bld. 4 lev. I no. 263a-b+286, l. 1).

mqyny^{hn}: the use of this noun, which follows the *nisba* pattern, directly after the name of the inscription's author proves that it was a term denoting a profession like *grby$^{(h)n}$* 'stone-mason' (cf. Frantsouzoff 2001b).

It is also attested in a fragmentary context of the unpublished inscription from the al-Mukallā Museum (MM 1/1) originated, probably, from Ḥuṣn al-Qays. It seems tempting to derive it from *qyn* attested now in all the epigraphic languages of South Arabia (its first occurrence in Ḥaḍramitic is examined below; see in **No. 13**).

However, the term *mqyn* reconstructed with a hypothetical meaning '*qayn*'s office' has not been found yet. On the other hand, in Classical Arabic some derivatives from the root *QYN* (*qāna* 'forge, hammer'; *qayn* 'blacksmith') are connected with the handicraft of blacksmith.

ll. 2-[3], *mṯ[ndʰⁿ]*: this is a rare example of the inscribed stele attributed to the ancient period (An.), since this type of epigraphic votive objects became wide-spread during the recent period (R.). However, few texts on stelae dated from An. have been already found at Raybūn, *viz.* Rb XIV/89 no. 221=SOYCE 2075 (Frantsouzoff 1998a, pp. 132-143; fig. 8) and Raybūn-Kafas/ Naᶜmān 270 (*cf.* Frantsouzoff forthcoming, chapter 3).

No. 4 (*pl. XLVIII*, 2)

Siglum: RAMRY/94-az-Zālif 1 no. 1.

Provenance: az-Zālif 1 settlement, ruins of a seriously destroyed building which should be identified, thanks to the contents of the inscription, with a temple of the god Siyān (see *Appendix I*).

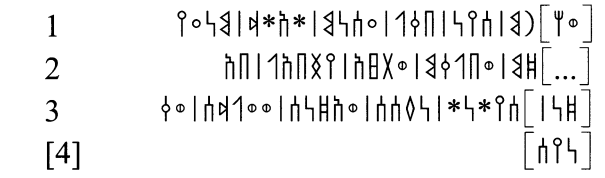
Description: rectangular limestone facing slab, rather well preserved, which bears three fragmentary lines of a Ḥaḍramitic text. The occurrence of two careless mistakes (𐩢 instead of 𐩣 at the end of l. 1 and a 'full-length' right vertical stroke in 𐩵 at the beginning of l. 3) corrected by the engraver of this inscription demonstrates that for some obscure reasons he was not attentive in carving it.

Dimensions: H = 23; L = 56,5; h = 6,5-6,8; l = 1,8-1,9; l(*y*) = l(*q*) = l(ᶜ) = l(*w*) = 1,2-1,3.

P = 0,51.

Script: the sharpened *r*, the 'open' *m*, the inclined horizontal bar in the *n* and in the apex of the *alif*, the bulges on the strokes' extremities in some characters are typical for the so-called 'recent' period (R.) in the history of Raybūn and of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt as a whole.

Copy:



Transcription:

1 *[w-ḥ]rm/Sˡyn/bql/ᶜsˡnᵐ/*ᵓ*d/mnᶜy*
2 *[...]ḏᵐ/w-blqᵐ/w-tḍᵓ/Ysᵌbᵓl/b-ᵓ=*
3 *[ḏn/]Sˡy*n*/nfsˡ-sˡ/w-ᵓḏn-sˡ/w-wld-sˡ/w-q=*
[4] *[ny-sˡ]*

Translation:

1 [... And] Siyān [proc]laimed sacred (prohibited) the plants (growing) from the bottom until the upper construction elements (made)
2 of ... (?) and of limestone. And Yaśūbʾil placed under the
3 w[ill] of Siyān his soul and his will and his offspring and [his] pos-
[4] [sessions].

Commentary:

l. 1, *[w-ḥ]rm:* the restoration of this verb attested in Sabaic (Beeston *et al.* 1982, p. 70: 'to put *s.o.* under restraint, to prohibit, to be prohibited, to be subject of *an interdict, ban*'), Minaic (Arbach 1993, I, p. 49: 'proclamer sacré') and Qatabanic (Ricks 1989, p. 67: 'to be forbidden, to be punished, to incur interdiction') seems the most probable, since it often renders an action performed by deities.

ll. 1-2, *bql/ᶜsˡn[m]/*ʾ*d/mnᶜy / [...]d̲[m]/w-blq[m]*: first occurrence of the collective noun *bql* 'plants' already attested in Sabaic (Beeston *et al.* 1982, p. 30), Minaic (Arbach 1993, I, p. 23) and Qatabanic (Ricks 1989, pp. 31-32) in the Ḥaḍramitic epigraphy.

As to *ᶜsˡn[m]*, in all the languages of ancient South Arabia its meaning is connected with a lower or underground part of constructions: 'foundation', 'lower course' (Beeston *et al.*1982, p. 20), 'fondations' (Arbach 1993, I, p. 15; Breton *et al.* 1987, p. 19), 'cistern, underground chamber' (Ricks 1989, p. 125). In Ḥaḍramitic it was discovered only once in the formula *hn/ᶜsˡn[m]/ʾd/mnᶜy[m]* 'depuis les fondations jusqu'au faîte' which concerns the construction of a fortress wall (MAFYS–Naqab al-Haǧar 2=RES 2640/2). It has a lot of parallels in this language (Khor Rori 1/3-4: *bn/rbb[m]/ʾd/s²qr[m]*; Khor Rori 2/4: *bn/rbb[m]/ʾd/s²qrt*; RES 2687/5: *bn-mw/rbb[m]/ʾd/s²qr[n]*; RES 3250=Ja 1007/2-3; Ja 2878 b/2: *bn-mw/mwṯr[m]/ʾd/s²qr[m]*) as well as in Sabaic (RES 4626/1: *bn/mwṯr[m]/ᶜdy/s²qr[n]*; RES 4107/3: *bn/mwṯr-hw/ᶜdy/mrym[n]*; CIH 569=CIAS 42.11/b4, l. 2: *bn/mwṯr[m]/ᶜdy/tfr[c m]*; RES 4648/3-4: *w-bn/mwṯr-hw/ᶜdy/tfrᶜ-hw*; RES 4799: *ln/s²rsˡ[m]/ᶜd/s²qr[m]*; CIH 337/[7]-8: [*bn/mbny]/ᶜsˡn[m]/ᶜdy/s²qr[m]*), Minaic (Maᶜīn 9=M 59=RES 2804/3; M 169=RES 2949=Gr 289/2; M 247=RES 3022/1; M 347=RES 3535/1; Maᶜīn 6=M 401/2, 4; Bauer 3/2; Bauer 5/2; etc.: *bn/ʾs²rsˡ/ᶜd/s²qr[n]*; M 423/2: *bn/ʾs²rsˡ[m]/ᶜd/s²qr[n]*; M 143=RES 2921: *bn/ʾs²rsˡ/mbny[n]/ᶜd/s²qr[n]*; Bauer 7/3-4: *bn/[ʾs²rsˡ]/ᶜd/smh)* and Qatabanic (RES 3552/3-4; RES 3965=CIAS 47.11/b5, ll. 3-4; RES 4932/3; Ja 405/2-3: *bn/s²rsˡ[m]/ᶜd/fr[c m]*). The general sense of this formula usually translated as 'from bottom to top', 'from the lower part to the upper part' or 'from foundation till topping off' is clear, though some semantic nuances can be found in its varieties. For instance, *smh* (Bauer 7/4) literally means 'sky' (Bauer, Lundin 1998, p. 119), while *mrym[n]* (RES 4107/3) is interpreted with a certain doubt as 'roof-terrace' (Beeston *et al.*1982, p. 120).

The strict sense of *mnᶜy(m)* remains obscure. Besides two occurrences cited above it is attested in an unpublished Ḥaḍramitic inscription discovered in the temple of Mayfaᶜān at Raybūn, but the fragmentary context affords no clue to its interpretation (Rb XIV/87 no. 1=SOYCE 1129/4: .../*mnᶜy[m]*...). However, the Sabaic verb *nᶜyw* (3 m. pl.) deriving from the same root means 'affix to a building' (Beeston *et al.* 1982, p. 90). Therefore it is possible to assume that the term under consideration bears a relation to some construction elements fixed to the upper part of buildings or other installations (like fortress walls).

There is no doubt that the term *blq*^{m} 'limestone' previously attested many times in all the epigraphic languages of South Arabia with the exception of Ḥaḍramitic (Sima 2000, pp. 289-293) designates here the material from which these elements were made.

The most complicated problem consists here in filling a lacuna at the beginning of l. 2. Its size, which was precisely determined thanks to the use of the standard formula introduced by the verb *tḍ*$^{\circ}$ in ll. 2-[4], cannot exceed 2-3 characters. The interpretation of *[...]d*^{m} as one of the terms denoting building materials like *blq*^{m} is obvious. However, in ancient South Arabian inscriptions no word deriving from the root with the last radical *D* or *Z* and having such a meaning has been found. Despite the first occurrence of a term for granite, basalt, tuff, slate or some other kinds of stones, which have not been attested yet in epigraphic documentation (Sima 2000, p. 297), is not excluded, there is no reason at the moment for proposing any restoration of this gap.

In all probability, some climbers, for instance, vines, are implied under *bql* in this fragment. Viticulture was widespread in ancient South Arabia including Ḥaḍramawt (Sima 2000, pp. 258-262).

It follows from this fragmentary context that in ancient Ḥaḍramawt some plants could be put under a special protection of the god Siyān.

l. 2, *Ys*^{3}*b*$^{\circ}$*l*: first occurrence of this name in the onomasticon of ancient Arabia.

ll. 2-3: the formula introduced with the expression *w-tḍ*$^{\circ}$*(t)/b-*$^{\circ}$*dn/*(+ deity's name) which occurs in the Ḥaḍramitic epigraphy, especially at Raybūn, is attested here in its standard version (cf. Frantsouzoff 1995, p. 21).

No. 5 (*pl. XLVIII*, 1)

Siglum: SOYCE/91-Shabwa no. 1.

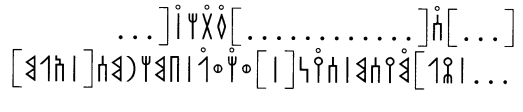
Provenance: settlement of Shabwa, surface find.

Description: limestone altar or pedestal broken from above, from the left and from the right, seriously damaged from below which bears two lines of a Ḥaḍramitic text. The upper line is almost completely destroyed. The large margin under the lower line proves that it was the last one.

Dimensions: no data.

Script: the sharpened *r*, the 'open' *m* with a curved line at its left, the inclined horizontal bar in the *n*, the bulges on the strokes' extremities in *ḥ, y, s*^{1}, *n* and *b* are evidence of the attribution of this fragment to the period R.

Copy:



Transcription:

1 *[...](s*^{1}*)[.....]fṯḥ/[...*

2 *.../ṣl]my-s*^{1}*m/S*^{1}*yn[/]w-Ḥwl/b-mḥrm-s*^{1}*[/*$^{\circ}$*lm]*

Translation:

1 .....juridical decision (regulation)...
2 ...their (pl.) two [sta]tues (to) Siyān and Ḥawl in His temple [Alīm]

Commentary:

l. 1, *(ft)ḥ*: in Ḥaḍramitic the noun *fṯḥ* has already been attested in Rb I/84 bld. 3 lev. I no. 198a-f=SOYCE 706/5-6 from the temple of Raḥbān. However, the interpretation of *fṯḥ* as a verb ('to make a judicial decision', 'to impose a regulation'), which occurs in the same inscription (Frantsouzoff 1997, pp. 118, 122), is not excluded either. It is impossible to ascertain if the decision mentioned here was taken by a priest or by a god itself.

l. 2, *[.../ṣ¹]my-s¹m/S¹yn[/]w-Ḥwl*: the restoration of the wide-spread South Arabian term for votive object attested in Ḥaḍramitic inscriptions from Raybūn (Frantsouzoff 2003) and from Shabwa (RES 4691/3; S/76/55, l. 2) seems very probable. It is reasonable to assume that both statues were dedicated to two deities mentioned directly after them and to insert a verb like *qṣ²/qẓ²* 'to offer' in the lacuna (the verb *s¹qny* is used only at the beginning of the text). However, the occurrence of votive objects before their addressees is not typical for the epigraphy of ancient Yemen. The attached pronoun *-s¹m* (3 m. pl.) appears to relate here to the authors of this text.

As to Siyān and Ḥawl, which were enumerated in the same strict succession once in Ḥaḍramitic (RES 3869/4) and once in Sabaic (RES 3945/12)[3], they are to be identified as the supreme deities of Ḥaḍramawt. There are good reasons to consider them as a divine married couple (cf. Frantsouzoff 2001, p. 242).

b-mḥrm-s¹[/²lm]: *cf.* the similar contexts in RES 4691/2 and RES 4694/2 originated from Shabwa. It is worth noting that no sanctuary of Ḥawl has been found yet in the Ḥaḍramawt capital. In all probability, this goddess was worshipped in the temples of Siyān, her feasible divine spouse.

No. 6 (*pl. L*, 1)

Siglum: RAMRY/00-ḤQ no. 1.

Provenance: Ḥuṣn al-Qays temple, in the ruins.

Description: small limestone facing slab broken from above and from below which bears two fragmentary lines of a South Arabian text. Only the upper half of the lower line is preserved.

Dimensions: no data.

Script: the inclined horizontal bar in the *n*, the rather large calyx of *ḥ* and the presence of small bulges at the ends of some strokes give an opportunity to attribute this text with hesitation to the period An. 3.

---

[3] In this famous inscription giving a detailed account of the military campaigns undertaken by the Sabaean ruler Karib²īl Watar, son of Dhamar°alī the present context is connected with the kingdom of Ḥaḍramawt.

Copy and transcription:

1 ...[𐩲𐩣]𐩧𐩧𐩵... ...*Ḥnn[ʾl]*
2 ...𐩲(𐩢/𐩥)𐩸... ...*sᵌ(b/ḍ)l*...

Translation:

1 ...Ḥanan[ʾil] ...
2 .....

Commentary:

l. 1, *Ḥnn[ʾl]*: this restoration is based on the occurrence of this proper noun in Rb I/89 bld. 4 lev. I no. 282=SOYCE 1853/1 from the temple of Raḥbān. It proved to be widespread in the Ṣafaitic onomasticon (Lankester Harding 1971, p. 206). However, other variants are also possible. See, for example, *Ḥnn* attested in North Arabian inscriptions as a name of person (Lankester Harding 1971, p. 206) and in Sabaic epigraphy as that of clan (IDIS, 7, p. 250), *Ḥnny* discovered in a graffiti originated in the territory of Ḥaḍramawt (RES 5031), etc.

l. 2: no reliable restoration and interpretation of this fragmentary line can be proposed.

No. 7 (*pl. L*, 2)

Siglum: RAMRY/00-ḤQ no. 2.

Provenance: Ḥuṣn al-Qays temple, in the ruins.

Description: rectangular limestone facing slab, which bears three fragmentary lines of a Hadramitic text (only the upper part of the third line was engraved on it). Its lower left corner is slightly damaged.

Dimensions: no data.

Script: the closed *m* with isosceles triangles, the rounded *r*, the inclined horizontal bar in the *n* and in the 'apex' of the *alif*, the modest size of the circles in the *w* and of the calyces in the *h* and the *ḥ* correspond rather well to some varieties of the period An. 2.

Copy and transcription:

1 ...𐩱)𐩱𐩣𐩱...
2 ...]𐩧𐩥𐩨𐩣...
3 [...(?)𐩨𐩭𐩲𐩧]𐩺𐩻𐩻)(𐩲/𐩦)𐩵[(?)𐩨𐩣(𐩺/𐩦)𐩺𐩨...

Transcription:

1 ...*mʾmrᵐ*...
2 ...-*sˡww/bn*[...
3 .../*w-q(ṣ/ẓ)ʾ/(?)]Ḥ(ṣ/y)r/hq[nyt/(?)...]

Translation:

1 .... an order ...
2 ... their (dual or pl.) ... from (?) [...
3 ... and] Ḥaṣar (or Ḥayr) [offered (?)] the dedi[cation of (?) ...]

Commentary:

l. 1, *mʾmrᵐ*: the plural form of this noun is attested in a fragmentary Ḥaḍramitic inscription originated in the temple of Mayfaᶜān at Raybūn, in the expression *mʾmrt/ʾmrt-sˡ/ʾlfʾl* 'the orders that (the priestess) ʾIlfaʾal gave to him' (Rb I/90 no. 143=SOYCE 2306/2-3 cited in Frantsouzoff 1997, p. 123).

l. 2, *...-sˡww/bn[...*: this attached pronoun (3 m. sing.) is used at the end of dual or external plural nouns (Beeston 1984, § H 23:2). In standard contexts it is not followed by terms of kinship like *bn(t)*. Therefore the interpretation of *bn* as preposition seems more probable.

l. 3, *[.../w-q(ṣ/ẓ)ʾ/(?)]Ḥ(ṣ/y)r/hq[nyt/(?)...]*: as to *Ḥṣr*, see commentary to Raybūn-Ḥaḍrān 62. The name *Ḥyr* is attested in a graffito 1976/Dj. Maga/1 no. 23 discovered in the vicinity of Shabwa. The reading *Ḥ(ṯ)r* is hardly admissible, since such a proper noun does not occur in the onomasticon of ancient Arabia.

Although the restoration of the formula with *q(ṣ/ẓ)ʾ* seems very dubious, it is proposed on the basis of some remote parallels with Ḥaḍramitic inscriptions from Shabwa: *...sˡqnyt/ḏhbʰⁿ/...../w-qṣʾ-ṯ* (Chantier V, 1975/3-5; RF-Alīm 1/3-4), *...sˡqnyt/ḏhbʰⁿ/... .../w-qẓʾ-ṯ* (RES 2693/2-3) – "... the bronze dedication ..... and he offered it". In any case the verb *hqny(t)* can not be restored here, since in Ḥaḍramitic as well as in the other epigraphic South Arabian languages it is always used at the beginning of a text.

No. 8 (*pl. XLIX*, 1)

Siglum: RAMRY/94-Haj no. 1.

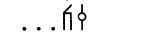
Provenance: al-Ḥajar, in the ruins of *extra muros* temple.

Description: small fragment of a limestone facing slab broken from above and from the left which bears two characters. Its lower right corner is damaged.

Dimensions: no data.

Script: the modest dimensions of the circle in the *q* and the presence of small bulges at the strokes' end make probable its attribution either to the period An. 3 or to the period R.

Copy and transcription:



...*Qk*...

Commentary:

fragment of a proper noun? No reliable restoration seems possible.

No. 9 (*pl. XLIX*, 2)

Siglum: RAMRY/94-Haj no. 2.

Provenance: al-Ḥajar settlement, in the ruins of *extra muros* temple.

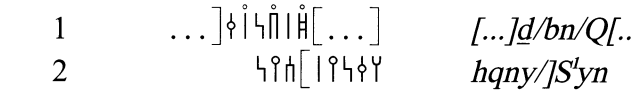
Description: small fragment of a limestone facing slab broken from above and from the left. Its surface covered with a fragmentary Ḥaḍramitic text is seriously weathered.

Dimensions: H = 5,0; L = 6,1; E = 8,5; h = 6; l = 2-2,1; l(*q*) = 2,2.

P = 0,69.

Script: in spite of a heavy damage of this text, the large proportions of its characters and the strictly horizontal bar in the second *n* afford an opportunity to attribute it with hesitation to the period An. 1.

Copy and transcription:



1	...]dh bn Q[...	*[...]d/bn/Q[...*
2	hqny/]Syn	*hqny/]Sʿyn*

Translation:

1 [...]*dh* son of Q[...
2 dedicated to] Siyān

Commentary:

no reliable restoration of the author's personal name or of his patronymic can be proposed. It is possible to suppose that the temple in which this fragment originates was dedicated to the god Siyān like Mayfaᶜān at Raybūn.

No. 10 (*pl. XLIX*, 3)

Siglum: RAMRY/94-Haj no. 3.

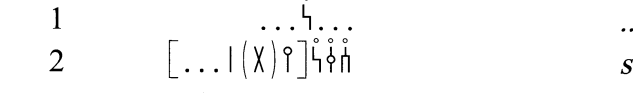
Provenance: al-Ḥajar, in the ruins of *extra muros* temple.

Description: small fragment of a limestone facing slab broken from three sides.

Dimensions: no data.

Script: the rather narrow proportions of characters, the lack of bulges at the end of strokes and the use of the verb *sʿqny(t)* restored with certainty in l. 2 correspond well to the period An. 3.

Copy and transcription:



1	...n...	*...n...*
2	[...l(X)y]nhh	*sʿqn[y(t)/...]*

Translation:

1 .....
2 dedica[ted to ...]

Commentary:

l. 1: in all probability, in l. 1 the name and the patronymic of the inscription's author were mentioned.

l. 2: with due regard for the previous text Siyān seems the most probable addressee of this dedication. However, the restoration of other deities' names is here admissible. Even the occurrence of a short formula in which the verb *ḥqny(t)/sˡqny(t)* is not followed by any word can not be excluded.

No. 11 (*pl. XLIX*, 4)

Siglum: RAMRY/94-Haj no. 4.

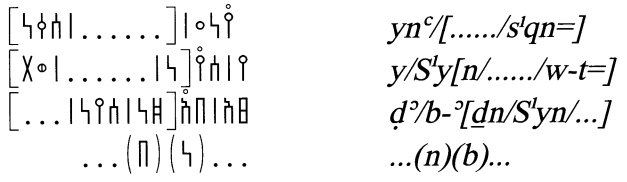
Provenance: al-Ḥajar, in the ruins of *extra muros* temple.

Description: fragment of a limestone stele broken from above, from the left and from below. On its seriously weathered surface some characters at the beginning of four lines are discernible.

Dimensions: no data.

Script: the narrow proportions of characters, the inclined intermediate bar in the *ḍ* and in the 'apex' of the *alif*, the bulges at the end of strokes are typical for the period R.

Copy and transcription:



1	[	*ynᶜ/[...../sˡqn=]*
2	[	*y/Sˡy[n/...../w-t=]*
3	[	*ḍᵓ/b-ᵓ[dn/Sˡyn/...]*
4		*...(n)(b)...*

Translation:

1 ....[..... dedica-]
2 ted to Siyā[n ..... and he pla-]
3 ced under the w[ill of Siyān ...]
4 .....

Commentary:

in such a fragmentary context only the restoration of some stereotyped formulae is possible.

No. 12 (*pl. XLIX*, 5)

Siglum: RAMRY/94-Mak no. 1.

Provenance: Makaynūn settlement, in the ruins of *intra muros* temple.

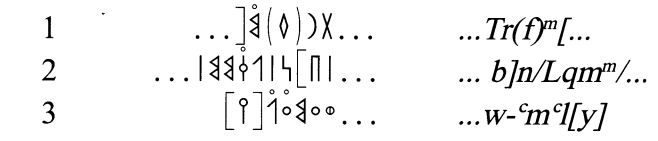
Description: fragment of a limestone facing slab broken from all its sides. Its surface, which bears three lines of a fragmentary text, is considerably effaced.

Dimensions: H = 25; L = 24; E = 6,5; h = 7,5; l = 2,5; l(*q*) = l(*w*) = l(ʿ) = 2.

P = 0,62.

Script: the 'open' *m*, the sharpened *r* and the inclined and slightly curved horizontal bar in the *n* correspond to R. or to An. 3.

Copy and transcription:



1 ...]ʿ(ḥ)ḫ... ...*Tr(f)*^{m}*[...*

2 ...lʿʿḥ1l4[ṃl... ... *b]n/Lqm*^{m}*/...*

3 [ʾ]1ʿʿḥʿʿ... ...*w-*^{c}*m*^{c}*l[y]*

Translation:

1 ... Taraf^{um} [...

2 ...so]n of Laqam^{um} ...

3 ... and ^{c}Ammī^{c}al[ī]

Commentary:

l. 1, *Tr(f)*^{m}: this proper noun is attested as a man's personal name once in Sabaic (IDIS, 7, p. 384), once in Qatabanic (Hayajneh 1998, p. 307) and as a lignage's name in Ḥaḍramitic inscriptions on the objects discovered in a necropolis of Wādī Ḍuraʾ (Ḍuraʾ/objects 1, 2, 5, 6). This name without mīmation occurs in a Ḥaḍramitic text from Dhofar (Ja 892/7).

l. 2, *Lqm*^{m}*:* first occurrence of this name in South Arabian onomasticon. However, some derivatives from the same root are known in North Arabian inscriptions (Lankester Harding 1971, p. 519: *Lqm, Lqm*^{n}) as well as in Arab tribal genealogies (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel 1966, II, p. 379: Luqaym^{um}, Luqmān^{u}).

l. 3, ^{c}*m*^{c}*l[y]*: this name is attested several times in Old Sabaic (Tairān 1992, p. 166), in Middle Sabaic (RES 3991/2-3; 4662/3), very often in Qatabanic (Hayajneh 1998, p. 330) and once in the epigraphy of Raybūn (Rb I/87 bld. 6 no. 1+Rb I/86 bld. 6 no. 3 l. 1; see Lundin 1996, pp. 89, 92: fig. 3)[4].

Unfortunately no coherent context can be restored here.

[4] It is not excluded that the author of this inscription was of Qatabanian origin (cf. Lundin 1996, pp. 91-92).

No. 13 (*pl. XXVII*, 2)

Sigla: Rb XIV/90 no. 253=SOYCE 2568.

Provenance: Mayfaᶜān temple (Raybūn XIV), lateral staircase, base of a niche constructed in the north-western face of the monumental platform.

Description: three rectangular limestone blocks mounted into a lateral lining of the staircase as the base of the niche. The inscribed surfaces of the two right blocks are slightly damaged while the surface of the left slab is destroyed almost completely bearing only traces of a dividing stroke and two (?) characters.

Dimensions: L = 70; h = 8.5; l = 3;

P = 0,67.

Bibliography: FRANTSOUZOFF 2000, pp. 260-261; FRANTSOUZOFF 2000a, pp. 305-306.

Script: the palaeographic classification of this text is very complicated. The lack of any bulge at the end of strokes means we can exclude its attribution to the period R. but there is no ground to date it more precisely. From the one hand, the 'open' *m* and the sharpened *r* correspond to the period An. 3, from the other hand, the strictly horizontal bar in the *n* and the rather large proportions of characters are typical for the period An. 1.

Copy and transcription:

[...] 𐩣𐩱𐩣𐩲𐩧𐩣𐩲𐩨𐩺𐩧𐩹𐩲𐩵𐩧𐩺𐩲𐩨 *ᶜlhmw/qyn/Rybn/bn[...]*

Translation:

ᶜAlāhumaw qayn of Raybūn, son of ...

Commentary:

ᶜlhmw: this personal name has been previously attested only in Old Sabaic onomasticon (Tairān 1992, p. 159).

qyn: first occurrence of this title, already attested in all the other epigraphic South Arabian languages, in Ḥaḍramitic.

Rybn: it is not clear if this toponym designated the whole complex of numerous archaeological sites known today under this name or only one of them (for example, the central settlement Raybūn I).

No. 14 (*pl. XXX*, 2: in the centre)

Sigla: Rb XIV/90 no. 263=SOYCE 2578.

Provenance: Mayfaᶜān temple (Raybūn XIV), pavement in the roofed gallery around sanctuary.

Description: rectangular limestone facing slab re-used in the pavement. Some traces of paint and

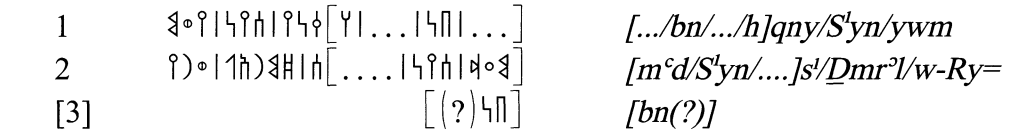
marking-out are discernible on its surface which bears two lines of a fragmentary Ḥaḍramitic text with a narrow margin on the left.

Dimensions: H = 19; L = 42; h = 9; l = 2.

P = 0,44.

Script: the slightly sharpened *r*, the inclined horizontal bar in the *n* and in the 'apex' of the *alif*, the small circles in the *q*, in the *y* and in the *w* as well as the narrow proportions of characters correspond either to An. 3 or to An. 2. The 'closed' *m* and the use of *hqny* in the adjoining text (N. 15) which is notable for the same palaeographic features make the attribution of this fragment to the period An. 2 more probable.

Copy and transcription:



1		*[.../bn/.../h]qny/Sʾyn/ywm*
2		*[mᶜd/Sʾyn/....]sʾ/Ḏmrʾl/w-Ry=*
[3]		*[bn(?)]*

Translation:

1	[Such a one son of Such a one de]dicated to Siyān on the day
2	[of the festival of Siyān ....]... Dhamarʾil and Ray-
[3]	[būn (?)]

Commentary:

ll. 1-2, *ywm / [mᶜd/Sʾyn]*: this lacuna was filled in on the basis of a similar context in Rb XIV/89 no. 221=SOYCE 2075/2 (*cf.* Frantsouzoff 1998a, pp. 133, 136-137)[5]. However, other restorations are not excluded.

l. 2, *Ḏmrʾl*: this name attested in Qatabanic and once in Sabaic (Lankester Harding 1971, p. 257; IDIS, 7, p. 201) occurs rather often at Raybūn, in the epigraphy of the temples of Ḥaḍrān (Frantsouzoff 2001, pp. 57, 59) and Mayfaᶜān (Rb XIV/90 n. 183=SOYCE 2498; Rb XIV/90 no. 268=SOYCE 2583; Rb XIV/90 no. 276=SOYCE 2591/1).

ll. 2-3, *w-Ry= / [bn(?)]*: this restoration proposed by A.G. Lundin seems very dubious.

No. 15 (*pl. XXX*, 2: at the top)

Sigla: Rb XIV/90 no. 264=SOYCE 2579.

Provenance: Mayfaᶜān temple (Raybūn XIV), pavement in the roofed gallery around sanctuary.

Description: rectangular limestone facing slab re-used in the pavement. Some traces of paint and

[5] The interpretation of the term *mᶜd* has been changed in accordance with one of its meanings cited in Beeston *et al.* 1982, p. 155.

marking-out are discernible on its surface which bears in its upper part one fragmentary line of a Ḥaḍramitic text. The end of this fragment is not visible on the photograph.

Dimensions: H = 21; L = 29; h = 9; l = 2,5.

P = 0,55.

Script: the same as in the previous text. The use of *hqny* confirms its dating to the period An. 2.

Copy and transcription:

[𐩣𐩲𐩨𐩤(𐩧)𐩲𐩣]𐩦𐩺𐩤𐩩𐩨𐩨[𐩤(𐩧)𐩣𐩤...] *[.../bn(t)/]ʾbʾmr/hq[ny(t)/Sᵗyn]*

Translation:

[Such a one son (daughter) of] ʿAbīʾamar dedi[cated to Siyān]

Commentary:

ʾbʾmr: this personal name wide-spread in Sabaic and Minaic (Lankester Harding 1971, p. 8; IDIS, 7, p. 116; Arbach 1993, II, p. 1) is also attested in a Ḥaḍramitic inscription from the site of Biʾr Ḥamad (BḤ-84 no. 59+no. 41=SOYCE 984).

No. 16 (*pl. XXX*, 2: in the lower right corner)

Sigla: Rb XIV/90 no. 261=SOYCE 2576.

Provenance: Mayfaᶜān temple (Raybūn XIV), pavement in the roofed gallery around sanctuary.

Description: rectangular limestone facing slab re-used in the pavement. Its surface is considerably effaced and bears a fragmentary Ḥaḍramitic text. The characters of l. 2 of which only the very top is extant are not decipherable. The beginning of this fragment is not visible on the photograph.

Dimensions: H = 16; L = 30; h(l. 1) = 9; h(top of l. 2) = 3; l = 2.

P = 0,44.

Script: the same as in two previous texts. The use of *hqnyt* confirms its dating to the period An. 2.

Copy and transcription:

1 [𐩣𐩲𐩨𐩤]𐩱𐩲𐩣𐩱𐩲𐩦𐩺𐩤𐩬[𐩣𐩤𐩧𐩣𐩤...] *[.../bnt/N]dbᵐ/hqnyt[/Sᵗyn]*

2 ....

Translation:

1 [Such a one daughter of Na]dabᵘᵐ dedicated [to Siyān]

2 .....

Commentary:

l. 1, *[N]db*^{m}: this proper noun occurred for the first time as personal name (mostly as patronymic) in the inscriptions of Raybūn in which it proved to be wide-spread (see Frantsouzoff 1998a, p. 135).

No. 17 (*pl. XXVIII*, 1)

Siglum: Rb XIV/89 without number. This text was described in Lundin's epigraphic diary on March 7, 1989 under no. 4 but was not designated with a SOYCE siglum.

Provenance: Mayfaᶜān temple (Raybūn XIV), south-western wall of the roofed gallery around the sanctuary, *in situ*, very close to No. 1.

Description: three rectangular limestone facing slabs mounted into the gallery wall above the bench and covered with a complete Ḥaḍramitic inscription. Some traces of paint are visible on their surface. The upper right corner of the first slab is considerably damaged.

Dimensions: H = 34; L = 46; h(l. 1) = 9; l = 3,5.

P = 0,77

Script: the 'closed' *m*, the strictly horizontal bar in the *n*, the big triangle in the *d*, the considerable dimensions of circles in the *ᶜayn*, in the *q*, in the *ṯ* , in the *y* and the large proportions of characters are typical for the period An. 1.

Copy and transcription:

1	𐩣𐩱#𐩦𐩨𐩵[𐩣𐩲]	*[ʾw]sˡ*^{m}*/bn#/Gᶜ=*
2	𐩵𐩧#𐩺𐩵𐩨𐩣)	*r*^{n}*/ᶜbd/Q#ṯ*^{m}*/*
3	𐩦𐩺𐩲𐩵𐩺𐩡	*hqny/Sˡyn*

Translation:

1 [ʾAw]s^{um} son of Gaᶜ-
2 rān, slave of Qatham,
3 dedicated to Siyān.

Commentary:

l. 1, *[ʾw]sˡ*^{m}: this restoration is based on the occurrence of the name *ʾwsˡᵐ* in the commemorative inscription Rb XIV/89 no. 260=SOYCE 2615 re-used in the same bench, dated from the period An. 1 and found not far from the present text and almost simultaneously with it. This personal name wide-spread in Sabaic, Minaic and Qatabanic (Lankester Harding 1971, p. 85; Arbach 1993, 2, p. 13; Hayajneh 1998, pp. 90, 304-305) is also attested in the epigraphy of different temples at Raybūn (Rb I/88 bld. 4 no. 132a-b=SOYCE 1737; Raybūn-Kafas/Naᶜmān 251, 270/1).

ll. 1-2, *Gᶜrⁿ*: first occurrence of this name already attested in Sabaic and in Qatabanic (Lankester Harding 1971, p. 163; Hayajneh 1998, p. 309) in Ḥaḍramitic inscriptions. It occurs with mīmation in

a funerary text from Shabwa (S/76/27, ll. 2-3: *Gᶜr* [m]) and without it in Ṣafaitic onomasticon (Lankester Harding 1971, p. 162).

l. 2, *ᶜbd*: this term is of very rare occurrence in the epigraphy of Raybūn. It is attested, however, once more in a fragmentary text originated in the same temple (Rb XIV/87 no. 161=SOYCE 1252/1).

Qṯm: see commentary to **No. 1**, ll. 6-7.

No. 18 (*pl. XXVIII*, 2)

Siglum: Rb XIV/89 without number (Rb XIV/89bis). In all probability, this text was described in Lundin's epigraphic diary on February 5, 1989 under no. 1 among other commemorative inscriptions of Qatham.

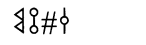
Provenance: Mayfaᶜān temple (Raybūn XIV), bench in the roofed gallery around sanctuary, in situ.

Description: commemorative inscription engraved on four slabs along a lateral side of a bench.

Dimensions: no data.

Script: the same as in the previous text.

Copy and transcription:



Q#ṯm

Translation:

Qatham

Commentary: see commentary to **No. 1**, ll. 6-7.

No. 19 (*pl. XXXV*, 1)

Sigla: Rb XIV/90 no. 192=SOYCE 2507.

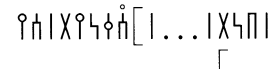
Provenance: Mayfaᶜān temple (Raybūn XIV), roofed gallery to the north of the sanctuary, destruction level.

Description: upper left corner of an inscribed Ḥaḍramitic limestone stele broken in two adjoining fragments. The upper margin of this stele is decorated with various geometrical ornaments. Its surface is painted in red.

Dimensions: no data.

Script: the bulges at the end of characters' strokes, the considerably inclined bar in the *n*, the point of intersection in the *t* transformed in a small vertical segment correspond well to the period R.

Copy and transcription:

1  *[.../bnt/.../]sˡqnyt/Sˡy=*

[2] *[n/....]*

Translation:

1-[2] [Such a one daughter of Such a one] dedicated to Siyā[n ....]

Commentary: standard beginning of a dedicatory text on stele.

No. 20 (*pl. XXXV*, 2)

Sigla: Rb XIV/90 no. 64=SOYCE 2381.

Provenance: Mayfaᶜān temple (Raybūn XIV), roofed gallery around the sanctuary, destruction level.

Description: upper right corner of an inscribed Ḥaḍramitic limestone stele broken into four adjoining fragments. The upper margin of this stele is decorated with bucrania and a geometrical ornament. Its surface is painted in red.

Dimensions: H = 48; L = 30; h_h = 26; l_d = 5; h = 8; l = 2.

P = 0,5.

Script: the 'closed' *m*, the small 'calyx' of the *h* and the inclined bar in the 'apex' of the *alif* correspond to a variety of the period An. 3.

The script of this fragment bears a great resemblance to that of the fragmentary stele Rb XIV/87 no. 95 probably compiled by the same author (ll. 1-2: *ʾlmᶜd/b[n/T̲mkh]mw*). The attribution of the latter to the period An. 3 is confirmed by the use of *sˡqny* (l. 2).

Copy and transcription:

1	[𐩦𐩣𐩲|𐩵𐩱|𐩧◦]𐩣𐩡𐩨	*ʾlm[ᶜd/bn/T̲mk=]*
2	[𐩵𐩲𐩨|𐩲𐩵𐩨|◦]𐩣𐩲	*hm[w/sˡqny/Sˡyn]*

Translation:

1 ʾIlma[ᶜad son of Thamak-]

2 hum[aw dedicated to Siyān]

Commentary:

l. 1, *ʾlm[ᶜd]*: the restoration of this name is based on its frequent occurrence in the epigraphy of the temple Mayfaᶜān (Rb XIV/87 no. 95/1; Rb XIV/88 no. 81=SOYCE 1545; Rb XIV/88 no. 92=SOYCE 1556; Rb XIV/89 no. 11a-d=SOYCE 1926/1; Rb XIV/89 no. 182=SOYCE 2098; Rb XIV/89 no.183=SOYCE 2099). It is not attested in other epigraphic South Arabian languages and even in Ḥaḍramitic outside Mayfaᶜān with the only exception of Raybūn-Kafas/Naᶜmān 138 (*ʾlm[ᶜd]*).

ll. 1-2, *[T̲mk]hm[w]:* this patronymic is restored here by analogy with Rb XIV/89 no. 11a-

d=SOYCE 1926 complied by *ʾlmᶜd/bn/T̲/mkhmw* who is probably identical with the author of the present text. About the use of this proper noun in South Arabian epigraphy see Frantsouzoff 1998a, pp. 134-136.

No. 21 (*pl. XXXV*, 3)

Sigla: Rb XIV/90 no. 103=SOYCE 2418.

Provenance: Mayfaᶜān temple (Raybūn XIV), destruction level to the north of the base of monumental platform.

Description: fragment of the upper part of an inscribed Ḥaḍramitic limestone stele. Its upper margin is decorated with a widespread South Arabian symbol consisting of disk and crescent. Some traces of paint are visible on the weathered surface of the stele.

Dimensions: H = 23; L = 30; h_h = 10; l_g = 2,5; h = 4,5; l = 1.

P = 0,44.

Script: the use of *s³* instead of *t̲* in *ms³ndʰⁿ* and *ks³ʾ* confirms the attribution of this fragment to R. The narrow proportions of characters, the zigzag shape of the *n*, the small circles of the *y* and of the *q* transformed in rhombuses correspond to a rather late variety of the period R.

Copy and transcription:

1	𐩱𐩣𐩧𐩱𐩺𐩣𐩧𐩲𐩣𐩧𐩱𐩺𐩣𐩧𐩱𐩺𐩣𐩧𐩱𐩺

No. 22 (*pl. XXXV*, 4)

Sigla: Rb I/90, bld. 4 no. 64=SOYCE 2228.

Provenance: Raḥbān temple (Raybūn I settlement), building 4 ("main sanctuary"), destruction level.

Description: upper left corner of an inscribed Ḥaḍramitic limestone stele. Its upper margin is decorated with a wide-spread South Arabian symbol consisting of disk and crescent (in the centre) as well as with various geometrical ornaments (on the left).

Dimensions: no data.

Script: the considerable bulges at the end of characters' strokes, the 'open' *m* and the point of intersection in the *t* transformed in a small vertical segment are typical for the period R.

Copy and transcription:

1	𐩧𐩣𐩲*𐩲*𐩲𐩮[𐩧𐩣𐩲𐩨𐩵𐩲𐩧𐩣]	*[ḏt/ks³ʾ/Ḏt/]Ḥm*/*ym/ḏt*
2	𐩲𐩮𐩲𐩧𐩣𐩲𐩲[...ₒ𐩲𐩲𐩮)]	*[Rḥb ⁿ/w-...]my/Ḏt/Ḥm=*
[3]	[...𐩲𐩲]	*[ym/...]*

Translation:

1	[That is what ordered Dhāt] Ḥimyam dhāt
2	[Raḥbān and (some genii)] of Dhāt Ḥim-
[3]	[yam ...]

Commentary:

l. 1, *[ḏt/ks³ʾ/Ḏt/]Ḥm*/*ym*: this restoration is proposed by analogy with parallel contexts attested in Sabaic inscriptions from the Highlands of Northern Yemen, for instance, with the beginning of some decrees of the gods Almaqah and Taʾlab Riyām (CIAS 32.21/r1, l. 1: *ḥg-n/wqh/ʾlmqh*; Gr 225/1: *ḥg-n/k-wqh/Tʾlb/Rym*^{m}). The Ḥaḍramitic verb *kṯʾ/ks³ʾ* corresponds very well to Sabaic *wqh*. According to general rules of the grammatical agreement of subject and predicate in Arabic and other Semitic languages the verb *ks³ʾ*, which precedes the goddess' name, is restored in 3 m. sing. (see a similar context in Rb I/90, bld. 4 no. 47a-b=SOYCE 2211/3: *ḏt/ks³ʾ-h-sˡ/Ḏ[t]/Ḥm[ym]*) [6].

If this interpretation is correct, it would be the first and unique occurrence of a decree issued by deities in ancient Ḥaḍramawt. No other restoration seems possible.

ll. 2-[3], *[w-...]my/Ḏt/Ḥm= / [ym]*: in the inscriptions of the temple Raḥbān some secondary deities subordinated to Dhāt Ḥimyam are attested like *rᶜbt/Ḏt/Ḥmym* (Frantsouzoff 1995, p. 19)

[6] In the inscriptions of Raybūn the dividing stroke between the verb *ks³ʾ* and the preposition *h-* can be omitted (cf. Frantsouzoff 2003a).

and *ṣrᶜy/Ḏt-Ḥ[mym]* (Raybūn-Kafas/Naᶜmān 95/2). In all probability, another variety of those genii is implied here. Unfortunately it is not possible to propose any reliable restoration of the term, with which they were designated, for lack of parallels.

No. 23 (*pl. XXXIV*, 3)

Siglum: Rb XIV/87 no. 98.

Provenance: Mayfaᶜān temple (Raybūn XIV), at the base of the monumental platform, destruction level.

Description: five fragments of the upper part of an inscribed Ḥaḍramitic limestone stele. The upper margin of this stele is decorated with a widespread South Arabian symbol consisting of disk and crescent (in the centre), various geometrical ornaments (on each side) and two relief images of passant antelope (along both edges).

Dimensions: no data.

Script: the occurrence of the name *Yḥds³ʾl*, which obviously derives from the root *ḤDṮ*, with *s³* instead of *ṯ* confirms the dating of this fragment to the period R. The narrow proportions of characters, the inclined bar in the 'apex' of the *alif*, the small circle of the *y* and the small 'calyx' of the *ḥ* correspond well to this attribution.

Copy and transcription:

1	.....𐩱𐩣𐩵]𐩺𐩨𐩧𐩲𐩲	*Yḥds³ʾl[/bn/.....*
[2]	[...𐩱𐩲𐩨𐩵𐩲𐩧𐩨	*sˡqny/Sˡyn/...]*

Translation:

1	Yaḥduśᵓil [son of Such a one
[2]	dedicated to Siyān ...]

Commentary:

l. 1, *Yḥds³ʾl*: the reading of the *ḥ* is reliable, since there is a clear trace of a middle vertical line in the character's 'calyx'. This name has been already attested only in Ḥaḍramitic (Bāquṭfa 11+10/1) under another spelling (with *ṯ*).

No. 24 (*pl. XXXIV*, 4)

Siglum: Rb XIV/87 no. 94.

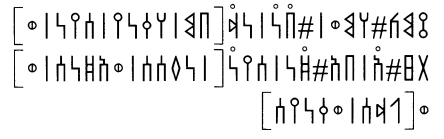
Provenance: Mayfaᶜān temple (Raybūn XIV), at the base of the monumental platform, destruction level.

Description: 17 fragments of the upper right quarter of an inscribed Ḥaḍramitic limestone stele. The upper margin of this stele is decorated with various geometrical ornaments and two bucrania (in the centre and on the right edge). The lowest fragment reproduced on the photograph proved to be a part of another text (see No. 25).

Dimensions: no data.

Script: the rather narrow proportions of characters, the 'open' *m*, the small circles in the *ṯ*, in the *w*, in the *y* and the strictly horizontal (in l. 1) or slightly inclined (in l. 2) horizontal bar in the *n* and in the 'apex' of the *alif* correspond either to the periods An. 2 or An. 3. Its dating by the period An. 2 is more probable, since two other inscriptions compiled by Thamakhumaw, son of Nadab[um], who seems to be identical with the author of this text, go back with certainty to that period (Rb I/84, bld. 3, lev. I n. 253a-f=SOYCE 633; Rb XIV/89 no. 221=SOYCE 2075; see Frantsouzoff 1998a, pp. 134-136).

Copy:



Transcription:

1 *Ṯmk#hmw/#bn-/Nd[b[m]/hqny/Sʿyn/w-]*
2 *tḍ#ʾ/b-ʾ#ḏn/Sʿyn[/nfsʿ-sʿ/w-ʾḏn-sʿ/w-]*
3-[4] *w[ld-sʿ/w-qny-sʿ]*

Translation:

1 Thamakhumaw son of Nada[b[um] dedicated to Siyān and]
2 placed under the will of Siyān [his soul and his will and]
3-[4] [his] o[ffspring and his possessions]

Commentary:

l. 1, *Ṯmk#hmw/#bn/Nd[b[m]]*: about those name and patronymic see Frantsouzoff 1998a, p. 134-136.

No. 25 (*pl. XXXIV*, 4)

Siglum: Rb XIV/87 no. 94bis.

Provenance: Mayfaᶜān temple (Raybūn XIV), at the base of the monumental platform, destruction level.

Description: fragment of an inscribed Ḥaḍramitic limestone stele broken from three sides. Although A.G. Lundin considered it as a part of the previous stele because of a rather good coincidence of its edges and those of some lower pieces of this stele, the presence of large margins at its bottom and on its left side clearly demonstrates that it belonged to another text.

Dimensions: no data.

Script: the angular shape of the *s²* and the 'classical' *t* prove that this fragment goes back to the period An. It seems difficult to date it more precisely.

Copy and transcription:

[𐩲𐩠𐩣𐩡𐩨𐩺]𐩹𐩡𐩧𐩹𐩺... ...*w-s²ft/S²[ᶜrwd/S¹yn]*

Translation:

... and Sh[aᶜarwadd] promised [to Siyān]

Commentary:

S²[ᶜrwd/S¹yn]: this restoration is based on the occurrence of this name in Rb XIV/87 no. 104, no. 105 (see Frantsouzoff 2003a) and on the general meaning of this verb usually interpreted as 'to promise (*deity to worshipper or vice versa*)' (Beeston *et al.* 1982, p. 131). Certainly Shaᶜarwadd restored here can not be identified with his namesake attested in two inscriptions mentioned above, since both of them are attributed with confidence to the period R.

However, other restorations are not excluded.

No. 26 (*pl. XXXVI*, 1-2)

Sigla: Rb XIV/89 no. 244=SOYCE 2159.

Provenance: Mayfaᶜān temple (Raybūn XIV), north of the base of the monumental platform, destruction level.

Description: votive silver pendant slightly damaged on all sides with an eye made of rolled on up plate. The complete Ḥaḍramitic inscription consisting of five lines covers its entire obverse.

Dimensions: H = 6; L = 5,5; L(eye) ≈ 1.

Script: typical for texts on metal support. The occurrence of the name *ʾlqs³m* with *s³* confirms the dating of this fragment to R.

Copy and transcription:

1	𐩰𐩠𐩲𐩣𐩺𐩧	*Mᶜnʾl/b=*
2	𐩧𐩸𐩺𐩲𐩣[𐩺]	*[n]/ʾlqs³m*
3	𐩠𐩸𐩤𐩠𐩺𐩣	*s¹qny/D̲t/*
4	𐩣𐩾𐩠𐩺)𐩾𐩰	*Ṣhrⁿ/h-ʾ=*
5	𐩣𐩸𐩲[𐩰]	*[b]lt-s¹*

Translation:

1	Maᶜnʾil, son
2	of ʾIlqaśam
3	dedicated to Dhāt
4	Ṣahrān for the sake of his
5	she-[c]amel.

Commentary:

l. 1, *Mᶜnʾl*: first occurrence of this man's personal name, well-known in Old Sabaic and North Arabian inscriptions (Tairan 1992, p. 202; Lankester Harding 1971, p. 556), in Ḥaḍramitic.

l. 2, *ʾlqs³m*: this name has been previously attested only in Ḥaḍramitic under the spelling with *t̲* (Ja 925/3; Rb XIV/87 no. 161=SOYCE 1252/1).

ll. 3-4, *Ḏt/Ṣhrⁿ*: local spelling of the name of the Qatabanian goddess Dhāt Ẓahrān under which it was worshipped in Raybūn (see Frantsouzoff 1999b, pp. 55, 62-63: note 7).

ll. 4-5, *h-ʾ[b]lt-sᵗ*: first occurrence of the term *ʾblt* 'she-camel' in Ḥaḍramitic. Its masculine equivalent is attested in SOYCE 903/3 (*ʾblʰⁿ*) in connection with the unique epigraphic evidence of camel burial (Frantsouzoff 2003). An interesting parallel to the present text on silver plate is to be found in a Ḥaḍramitic inscription on bronze from Shabwa the author of which in his appeal to divine power also took care of the well-being of his camel but designated it with another word – *bᶜr* (Chantier V, 1975, ll. 7-8: *h-wfy/...../bᶜr-sᵗ*).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAE	- *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy.* Copenhagen.
ABADY	- *Archäologische Berichte aus dem Yemen.* Mainz am Rhein.
AFSM	- The American Foundation for the Study of Man.
AION	- *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli.* Naples.
AJA	- *American Journal of Archaeology.* New York/Bosotn.
BASOR	- *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research.* Jerusalem/Boston.
BiOr	- *Biblioteca Orientalia.* Leiden.
BSOAS	- *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.* London.
CIAS	- *Corpus des inscriptions et antiquités sud-arabes.* Louvain.
CRAIBL	- *Comptes Rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.* Paris.
EVO	- *Egitto e Vicino Oriente.* Pisa.
GJ	- *The Geographical Journal.* London.
IDIS 3, 5, 7	- *Inventaire des inscriptions sudarabiques.* Publié par les soins de Chr. Robin. Tome 3: F.Bron. *Maʿīn.* Fasc. A: *Les documents.* Fasc. B: *Les planches.* Tome 5: S.Frantsouzoff. *Raybūn. Ḥaḍrān, temple de la déesse ʿAthtar^{um}/ʿAśtar^{um}.* Avec une contribution archéologique par A. Sedov. Fasc. A: *Les documents.* Fsc. B: *Les planches.* Tome 7: M.Arbach. *Les noms propres du* Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum. Pars IV. Inscriptiones ḥimyariticas et sabaeas continens. Paris/ Rome, Diffusion de Boccard/Diffusion Herder, 1998, 2001, 2002.
JAOS	- *Journal of the American Oriental Society.* Ann Arbor.
JNES	- *Journal of Near Eastern Studies.* New York.
JOS	- *The Journal of Oman Studies.* Muscat.
JRAS	- *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.* London.
NC	- *The Numismatic Chronicle.* London.
PEQ	- *Palestinian Exploration Quaternely.* London.
PSAS	- *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies.* London/Oxford.
RAMRY	- Russian Archaeological Mission to the Republic of Yemen.
RE.M.M.M.	- *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée.* Aix-en-Provence.
SOYCE	- The Soviet-Yemeni Complex [=Interdisciplinary] Expedition.
TMO	- *Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen.* Lyon.
VDI	- *Vestnik drevnej istorii.* Moskva.

SIGLA OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

ᶜAbadān 1	= Robin, Gajda 1994, pp. 113-137.
AD1=SOYCE 904= Ad/84,1 AD2=SOYCE 905= Ad/84, 2	= Piotrovskij 1995, pp. 177-189; Sedov 1996, pp. 253-278.
Arbach-Bāfaqīh al-ᶜUqla1	=Arbach, Bāfaqīh 1999, pp. 109-114, figs. 1-2.
Barīra	= Pirenne 1990, pp. 37-38.
BAQ or Bāquṭfa	= Pirenne 1979, pp. 207-233, pls. VI-XXI.
Bauer 3; 5; 7	= Bauer, Lundin 1998, pp. 98-101, 110-112, 118-120, 132, 133; pls. 218a-d, 219, 235-237, 238a-c, 210-213, 248a-d.
BM 132998	= Maraqten 1996, pp. 88-94.
Chantier V, 1975	= Pirenne 1990, p. 76, pl. 58a.
CIAS	= *Corpus des inscriptions et antiquités sud-arabes.* T. I (section 1: *Inscriptions*, section 2: *Antiquités*). T. II: *Le Musée d'Aden* (fasc. 1: *Inscriptions*, fasc. 2: *Antiquités*). Louvain, Éditions Peeters, 1977, 1986.
CIH	= *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. Pars quarta: Inscriptiones ḥimyariticas et sabaeas continens.* 3 vol. Paris, E Reipublicae typofrapheo, 1889-1931.
CT	= Ryckmans G. 1944, pp. 155-184, pls. XXIX, XXXVI, LI, LXII-LXX.

1976/Dj.Maga/1 no. 23	= Pirenne 1990, pp. 13, 15; fig. 4.
Ḍuraʾ/objects 1, 2, 5, 6	= Breton, Bāfaqīh 1993, pp. 23-25, 71-72.
Gr 225, 289	= Bauer, Lundin 1998, pp. 78, 107-108; pls. 195b, 230.
Ǧuǧa/Musée d'al-Mukallā 1	= Arbach 1997, p. 43.
GF 1=SOYCE 910=Gf/84, 1; GF 4=SOYCE 913=Gf/84, 7	= Piotrovskij 1995, pp. 177-189; Sedov 1996, pp. 253- 278.
HAǦ/79/6; HAǦ/79/9	= Breton *et al.* 1982, pp. 21, 43.
Hamilton	= Brown, Beeston 1954, pp. 55-56, pl. XVIII; Pirenne 1990 (re-edited).
Hūd 1	= Breton *et al.* 1982, p. 105.
Ingrams 8=Ry 622+686	= Ryckmans G. 1962, pp. 219-220; 1962a, pp. 452-453, pl. X.
Ja 402	= Jamme 1953, pp. 158-165.
Ja 405	= Jamme 1958, pp. 143-145, 147; fig. 95.
Ja 892	= Jamme 1967, pp. 146-148.
Ja 925, 1007	= Jamme 1963, pp. 42, 63-64; pls. IA-IB.
Ja 2102g	= Jamme 1966, pp. 296-297, pl. I.
Ja 2878b; 2882; 2889; 2890	= Jamme 1979, pp. 94-95, 97, 101-102.
Khor Rori	= Pirenne 1975a, pp. 81-96.
LG 1=SOYCE 941=Lg/84, 1	= Piotrovskij 1995, pp. 177-189; Sedov 1996, pp. 253-278.

M	= *Iscrizioni sudarabiche.* Vol. I: *Iscrizioni minee.* Napoli, 1974 (Istituto orientale di Napoli. Publicazioni del seminario di semitistica a cura di G. Garbini. Ricerche, X).
MAFYS - Naqab al-Hağar 2 =RES 2640	= Breton *et al.* 1987, pp. 18-19; pls. 9, 16.
Maʾīn	= IDIS, 3, pp. 37-121; pls. 4-75.
Musée d'al-Mukallā, no. 57	= Pirenne 1990, p. 81.
Musée d'al-Mukallā 219	= Bauer 1995, p. 140; Avanzini 1996, p. 183.
MR 1=SOYCE 930=Mr/84, 1; MR 5=SOYCE 934=Mr/84, 5; MR 6=SOYCE 935=Mr/84, 6	= Piotrovskij 1995, pp. 177-189; Sedov 1996, pp. 253-278.
Philby 10=Ry 170=RES 4699	= Pirenne 1990, pp. 86-87.
Nami NAG 12=Iryani 11	= Ryckmans J. 1968, pp. 261-273.
Philby 52=RES 4878=Ja 957	= Beeston 1938, p. 326; Jamme 1963, p. 51; Pirenne 1990, pp. 112.
Ray/79/Te/5	= Arbach 1997, p. 56.
Ray/Te/6=Raybūn 6	= Breton *et al.* 1980, pp. 43, 105; pl. II.
Raybūn-Ḥaḍrān	= Frantsouzoff 2001, pp. 69-301; pls. 1-374.
Raybūn-Kafas/Naʿmān	= Frantsouzoff forthcoming.
RbI/84, no. 196	= Frantsouzoff 1995, p. 19.
Rb I/84 bld. 3 lev. I no. 198a-f = SOYCE 706	= Frantsouzoff 1997, pp. 118, 122.

Rb I/85, nos. 344-346; Rb I/87, no. 1+RbI/86, no. 3; Rb I/87, nos. 2+3, 4, 5+6, 7, 8; Rb I/89, no. 2	= Lundin 1996, pp. 85-94.
Rb I/87, no. 3 = SOYCE 1131	= Frantsouzoff 1995, p. 18; 2003a.
Rb I/88 no. 132a-b	= Frantsouzoff 1995, p. 18.
Rb I/90 no 143 = SOYCE 2306	= Frantsouzoff 1997, p. 123.
Rb VI/84, no. 5 = SOYCE 834	= Bauer 1995, pp. 141-142.
Rb XIV/87 no. 104 = SOYCE 1467; Rb XIV/87 no. 108	= Frantsouzoff 1995, p. 18; 2003a.
Rb XIV/89 no. 221 = SOYCE 2075	= Frantsouzoff 1998, pp. 132-143, fig. 8.
RES	= *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique publié par la Commission du* Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. T. V-VIII. Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1929-1968.
RES 3512a = SE 52; RES 3512b = SE 50+51	= Bents 1900, p. 124-15; Wissmann 1968, p. 46, pl. III, 2.
RES 3570 = M 349; RES 3952	= Clermont-Ganneau 1908, pp. 546-560; Plassart 1928, p. 264.
RES 3663	= Bāfaqīh, Beeston, Robin, al-Ghūl 1985, p. 324.
RES 4067	= Wissmann 1968, p. 46.
RES 4182 =Ingrams 6= Ry 620 = Nami 80	= Ryckamns G. 1962, pp. 216-218.
RES 4691	= Pirenne 1990, pp. 77-78 (re-edited).
RES 4698	= Ryckmans J. 1976, p. 274; Müller 1976, pp. 55-59; Pirenne 1990, pp. 74-75.

RIE 191	= Schneider 1974, pp. 767-786.
Ry 631	= Ryckmans G. 1962, pp. 215 (fac-similé), 222; pl. VIII.
Ry 664 = Wissmann 20	= Ryckmans G. 1962, p. 443.
Ry 673 = Wissmann 29	= Ryckmans G. 1962a, pp. 447-448.
S/75/27; S/75/85; S/76/27; S/76/55;S/77/Mahdi; VII/81, no. 2;VIII/76/4	= Pirenne 1990, pp. 62-65, 68, 72-73, 77, 81, 86, 143.
SF I/1=SOYCE 914=SfI/84, 1; SF I/6=SOYCE 919=SfI,nekr./84, 4; SF II/1=SOYCE 920=SfII/84, 1-2; SF II/7=SOYCE 927=Sf/84, 3; SF II/8=SOYCE 928=SfII/84, 6	= Piotrovskij 1995, pp. 177-189; Sedov 1996, pp. 253-278.
SOYCE=Rb XIII/83, no. 1	= Sedov 2000, p. 22.
SOYCE 5=Rb I/83, no. 33; SOYCE 580; 635; 636+637; 673a-b; 777; 1087	= Bauer 1995, pp. 120-121, 123, 141-142.
SOYCE 2110	= Frantsouzoff 2001, p. 67.
SUNA/79/L/1	= Breton *et al.* 1982, pp. 112-113; Robin 2001, p. 170.
Yathuf	= Lankester Harding 1964, pp. 53-56, pls. LII-LIII.
YM 386; 468; 473	= CIAS, I, 1, p. I.35-I; I, 2, pp. I.453-I.454.
X.Rb-89, no. 7	= Bauer, Akopyan, Lundin 1990, pp. 168-173; Frantsouzoff 1999a, pp. 55-56.

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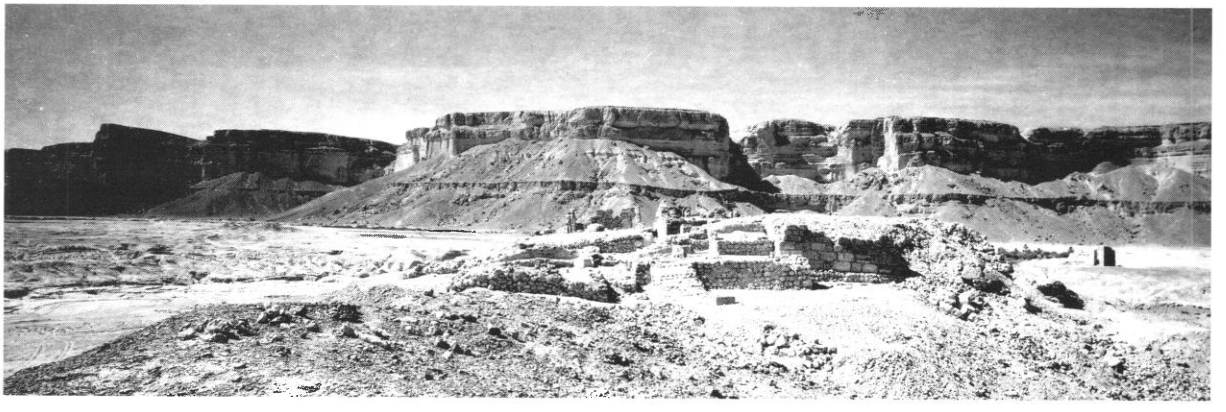
PLATE II

1 - Raybūn I settlement, view from the north-west (photo by A. Sedov).



2 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Raḥbān, view from the east (photo by M. Köngsen).

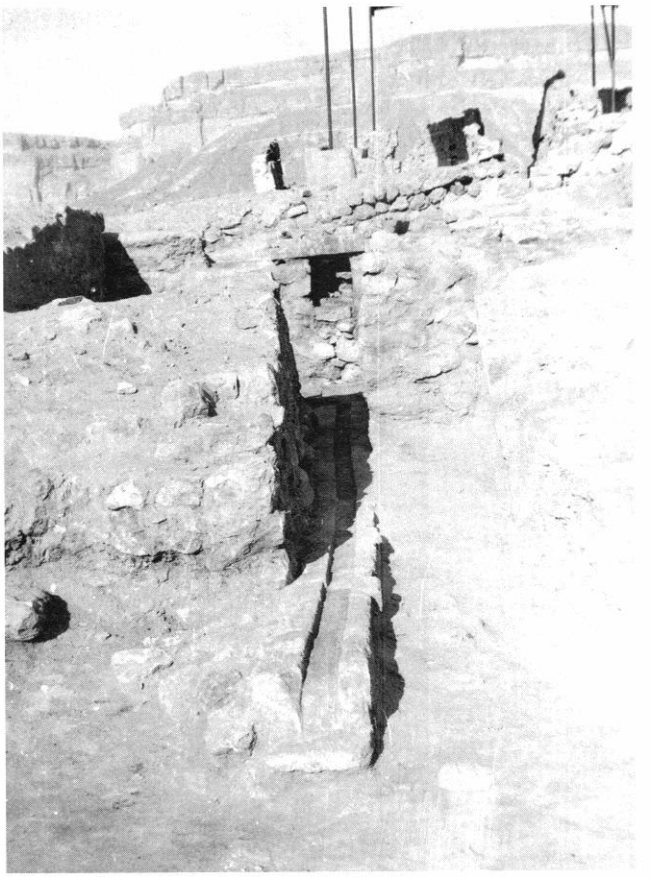
1 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Raḥbān, Building 4, view from the south (photo by A. Sedov).

2 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Raḥbān, Building 7, view from the north (photo by A. Sedov).

PLATE IV

1 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Raḥbān, Building 2, view from the north (photo by A. Sedov).

2 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Raḥbān, passage between Buildings 2 and 3, view from the east (photo by A. Sedov).

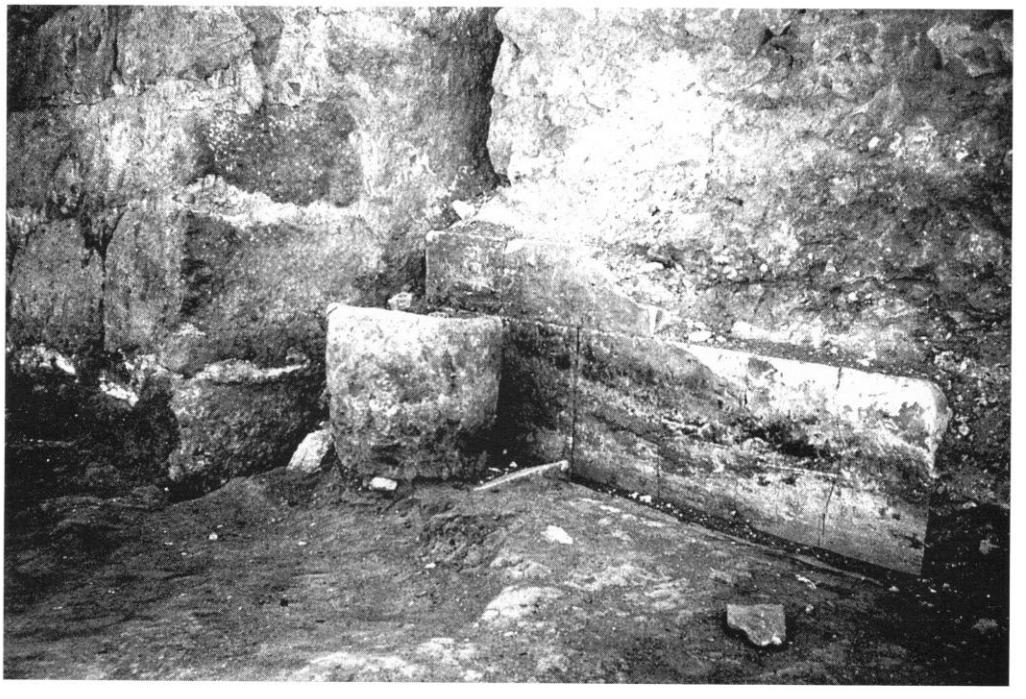


1 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Raḥbān, drainage canal in front of the Building 7, view from the east (photo by A. Sedov).

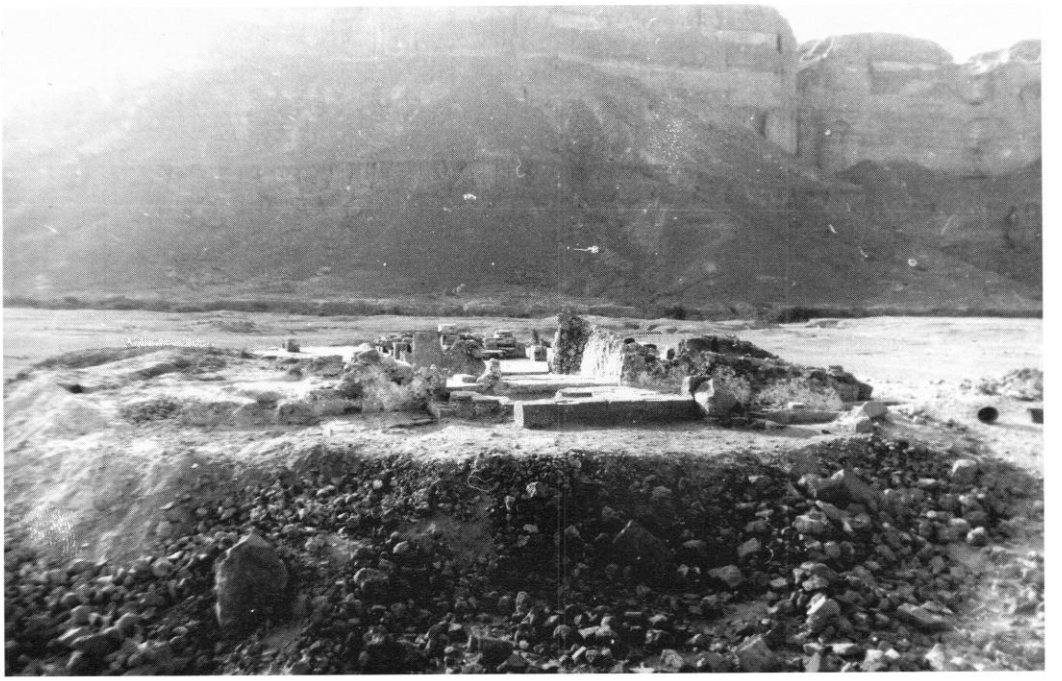
2 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Raḥbān, stone basin outside Building 4 (photo by A. Sedov).

PLATE VI

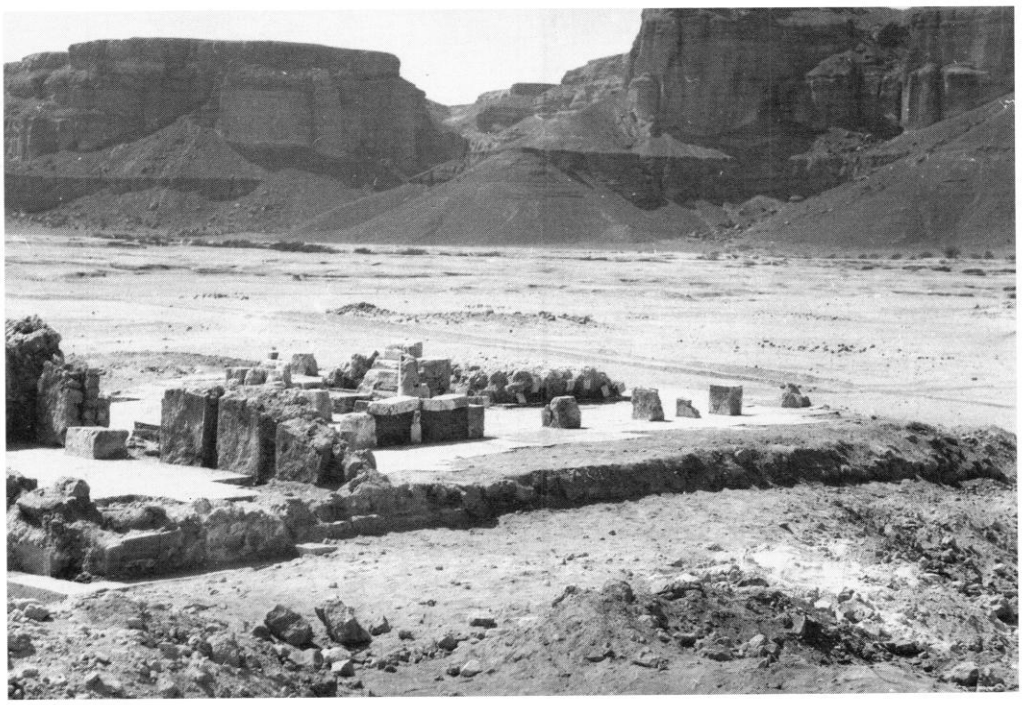
1 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naᶜmān, stone mortar (photo by A. Sedov).



2 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Raḥbān, stone mortar (photo by A. Sedov).

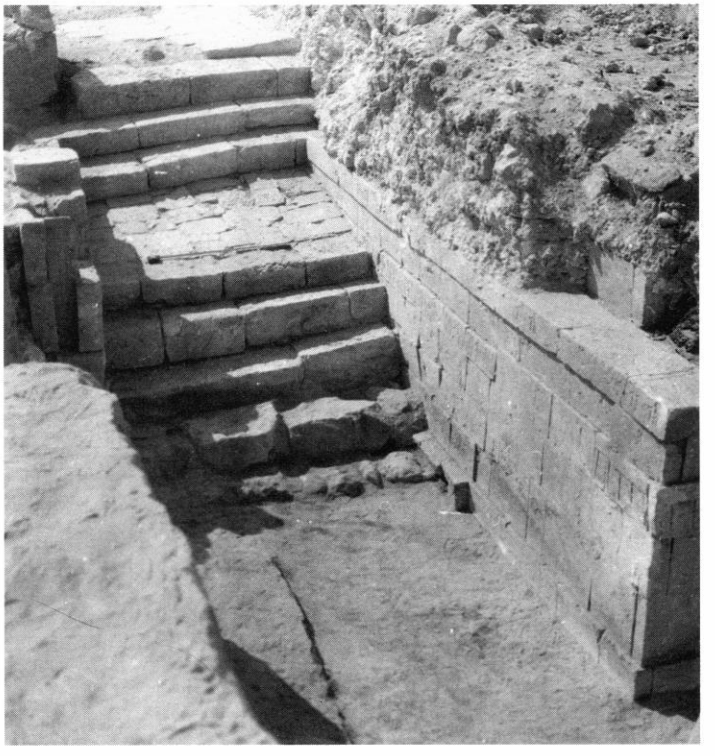


1 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naʿmān, sanctuary (Building 2), view from the south-east (photo by A. Sedov).



2 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naʿmān, sanctuary (Building 2), view from the north-east (photo by A. Sedov).

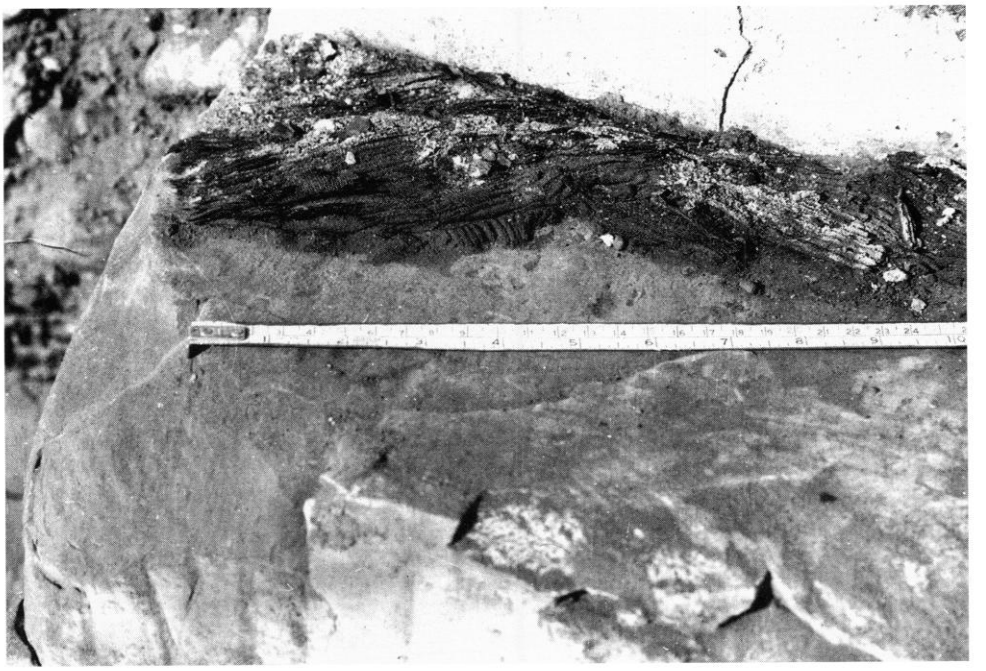
PLATE VIII



1 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naʿmān, sanctuary (Building 2), lateral staircase (photo by A. Sedov).

2 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naʿmān, sanctuary (Building 2), podium, view from the east (photo by A. Sedov).

1 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naʿmān, sanctuary (Building 2), square in front of the podium (photo by A. Sedov).

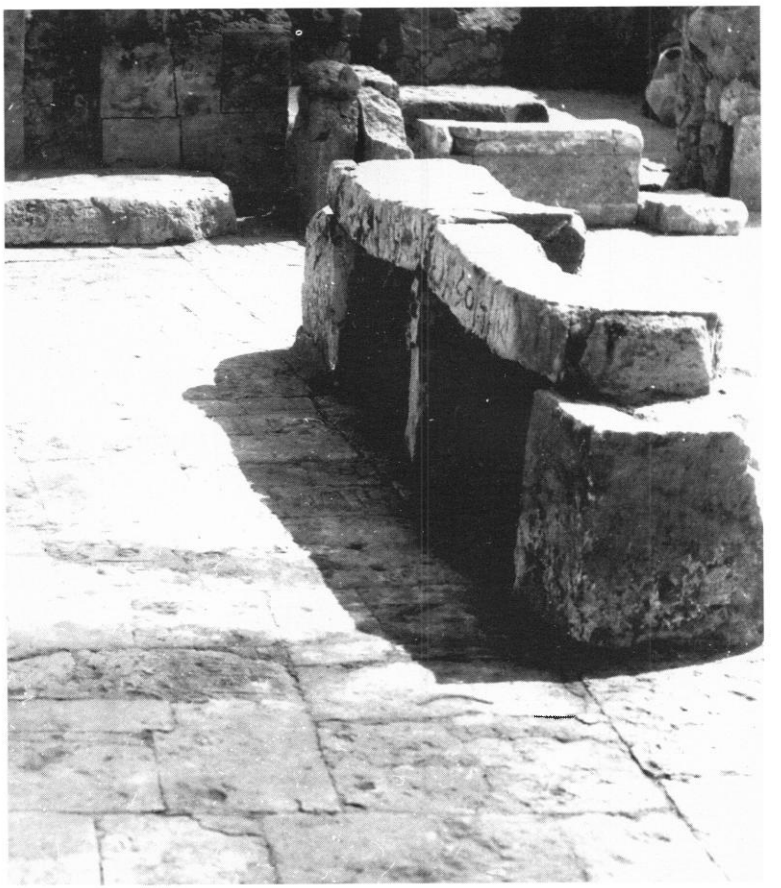


2 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naʿmān, sanctuary (Building 2), textile remains on the podium staircase (photo by A. Sedov).

PLATE X

1 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naʿmān, sanctuary (Building 2), offering table, view from the north (photo by A. Sedov).

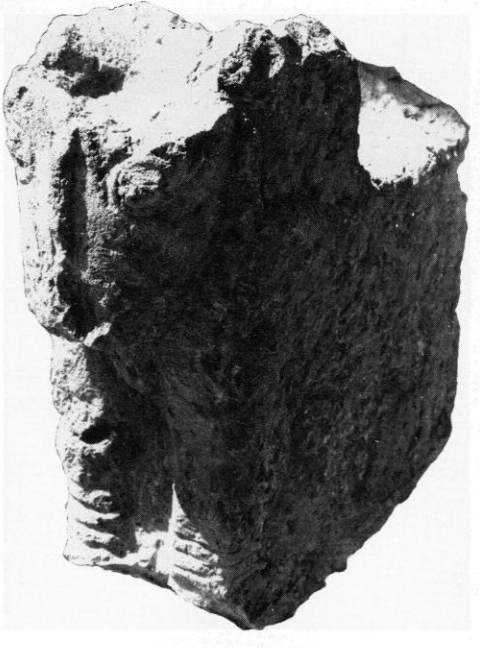
2 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naʿmān, sanctuary (Building 2), staircase in the room 2 (photo by A. Sedov).



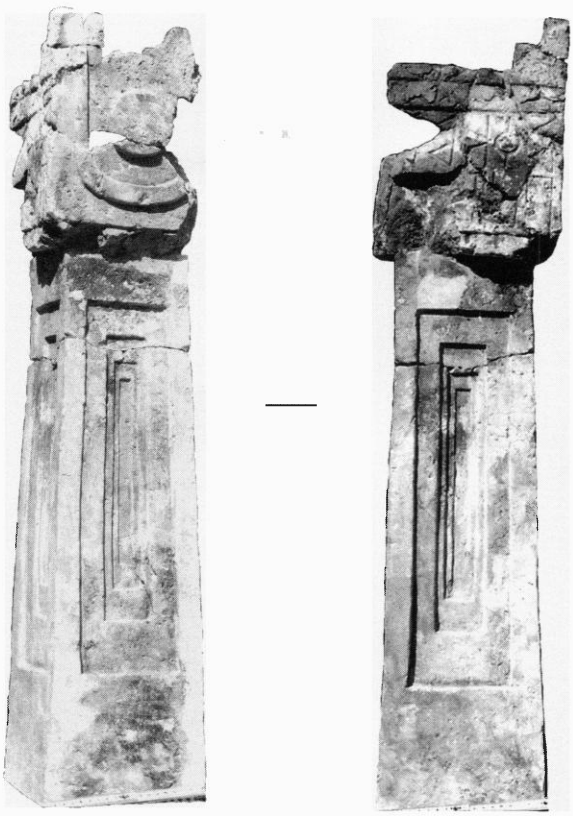
Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naᶜmān, sanctuary (Building 2), stone benches in lateral nave (photo by Ju. Kozhin).

PLATE XII

1 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naʿmān, fragment of a stele with zigzag decoration (photo by Ju. Kozhin).

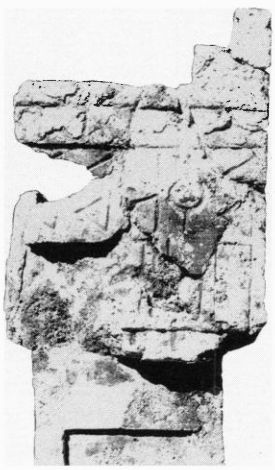


2 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naʿmān, stone base in form of ibex (photo by Ju. Kozhin).



1

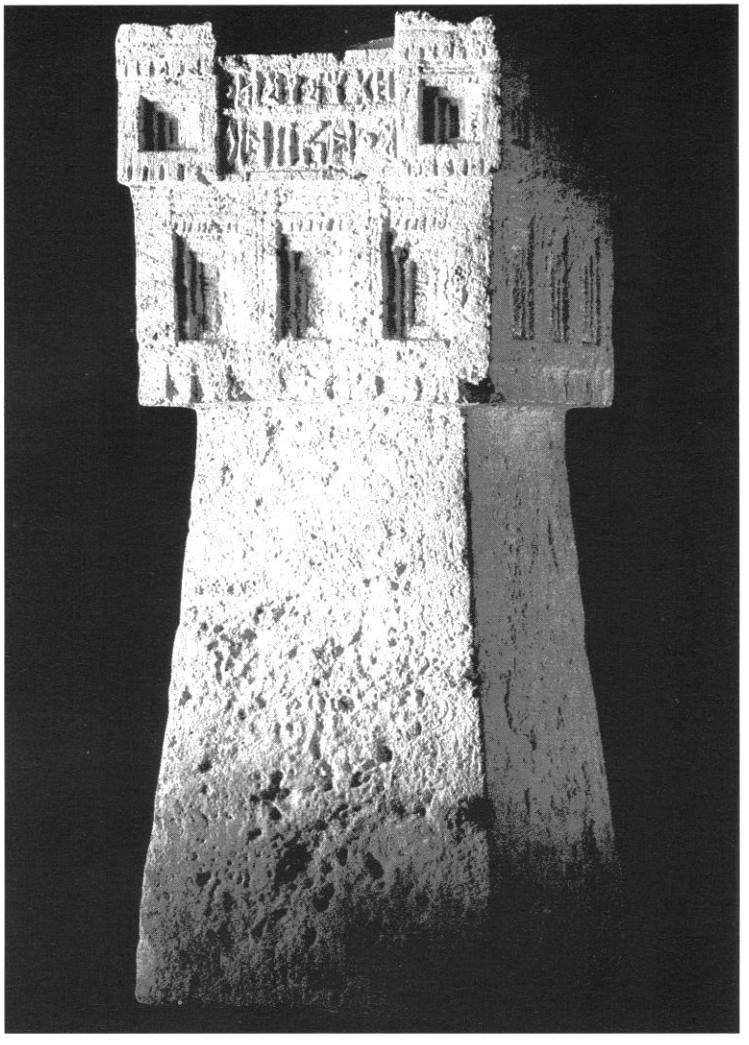
2



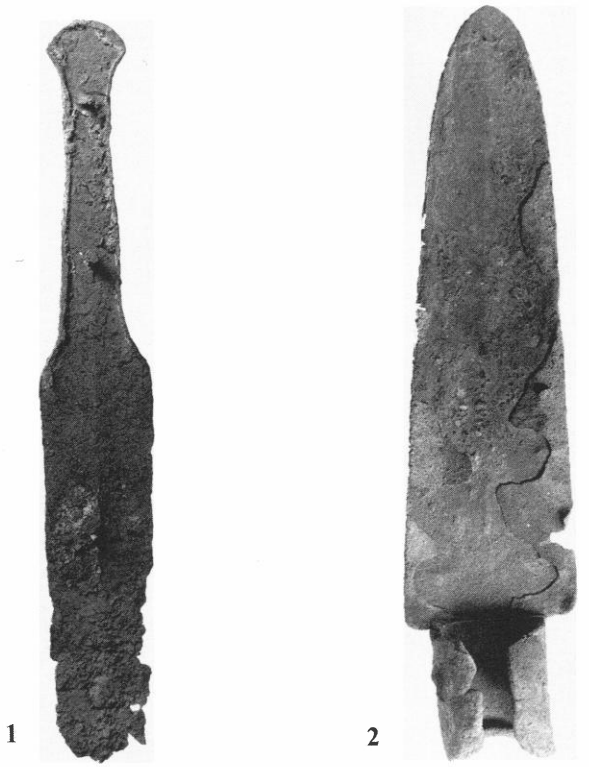
3

Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naʿmān, sanctuary (Building 2), incense-burner on base in form of profiled pillar 1 - general view; 2,3 - details of the upper part (published in Frantsouzoff forthcoming under the siglum Raybūn-Kafas/ Naʿmān 59) (photo by A. Sedov).

PLATE XIV

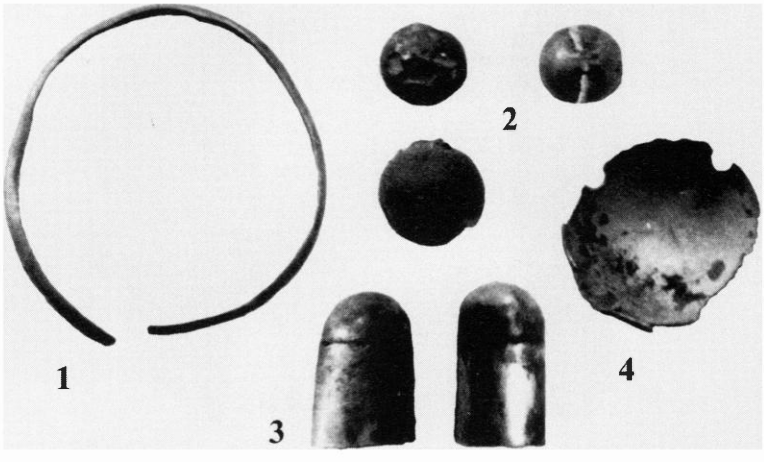


Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naʿmān, incense-burner with votive inscription (Raybūn-Kafas/Naʿmān 117). No scale (from Jemen 1998, p. 329, Kat.-Nr. 258) (published in Grjaznevich 1989, p. 134, fig. 2; Robin 1994, p. 26; Yémen 1997, p. 149; al-Yaman 1999, p. 149; Yemen 2000, pp. 348-349, no. 241; Gribaudo 2000, p. 49; Frantsouzoff forthcoming).

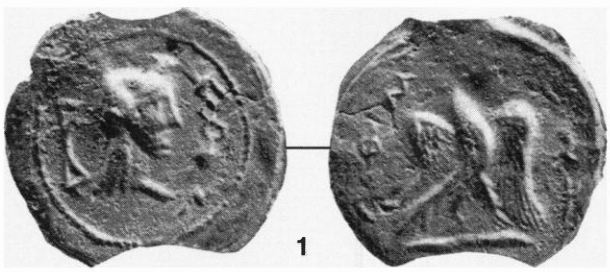


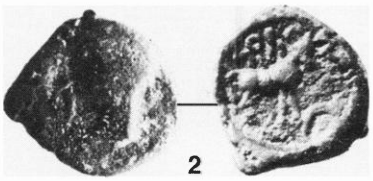
Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naʿmān, "ceremonial hall" (Building 1), "votive arms" (photo by M. Köngsen). 1 - dagger (length 28.2 cm); 2 - spearhead (length 18.4 cm).

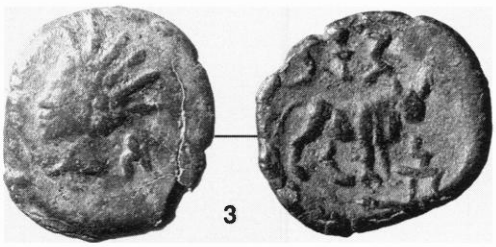
PLATE XVI

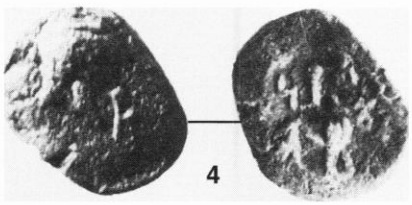


Temple ᶜAthtarum/ᶜAśtarum dhāt-Ḥaḍrān, remains of offerings in gold.
1 - bracelet; 2 - beads; 3 - tips of a belt; 4 - round plaque (photo by M. Köngsen).





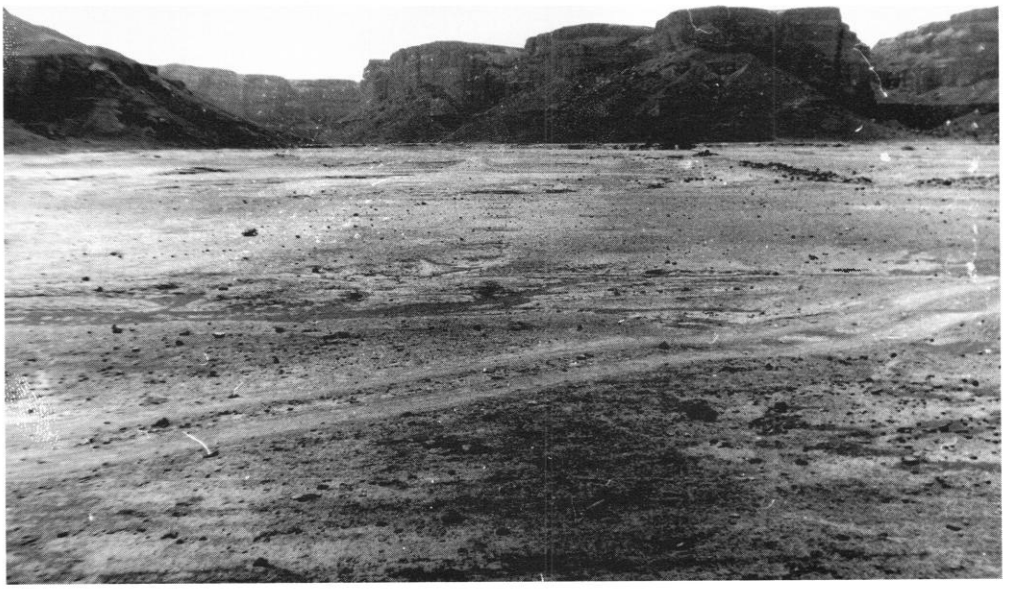




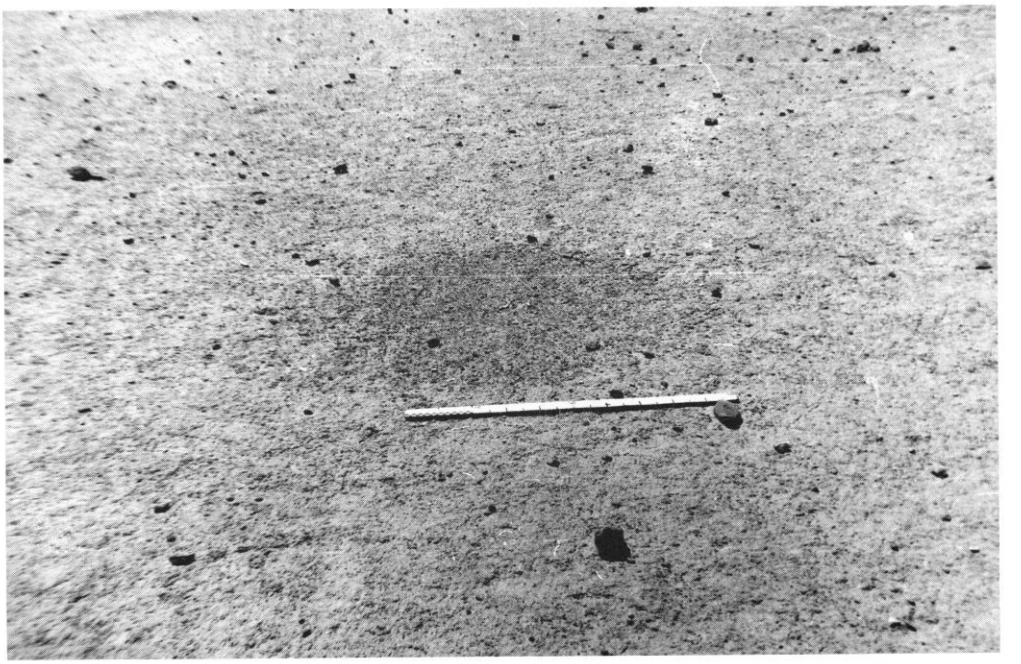
Ḥaḍramawt coinage. 1 - Yashhurʾīl Yuharᶜish, son of Abiyaśaᶜ, series head/eagle*; 2-3 - Ilīᶜadhdh Yalūṭ, series* radiated head/bull*; 4 - Yadaᶜʾīl Bayīn, series* head/bull *(1 - from Sedov 2002, p. 78, no. 75; 2-4 - photo by A. Sedov).*

1 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naʿmān, (Building 3), view from the south-east (photo by A. Sedov).

2 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naʿmān, stele outside temple's complex, view from the north (photo by A. Sedov).

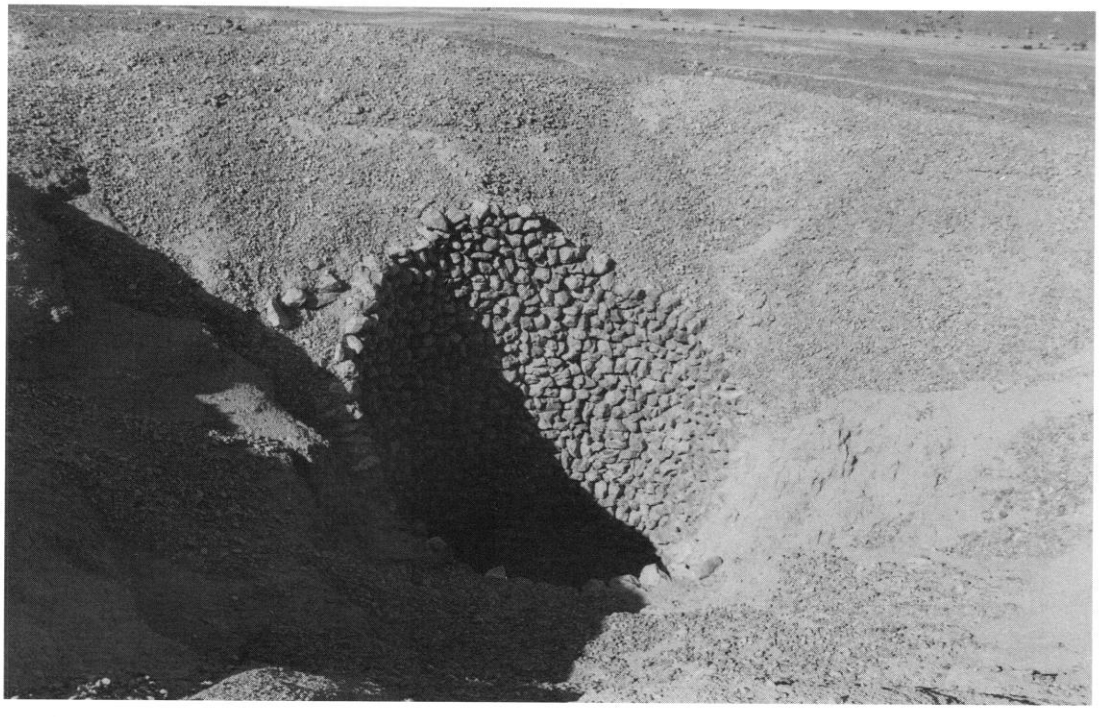


1 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naᶜmān, ancient fields south of the temple's complex (note traces of trees root system on the background) (photo by A. Sedov).

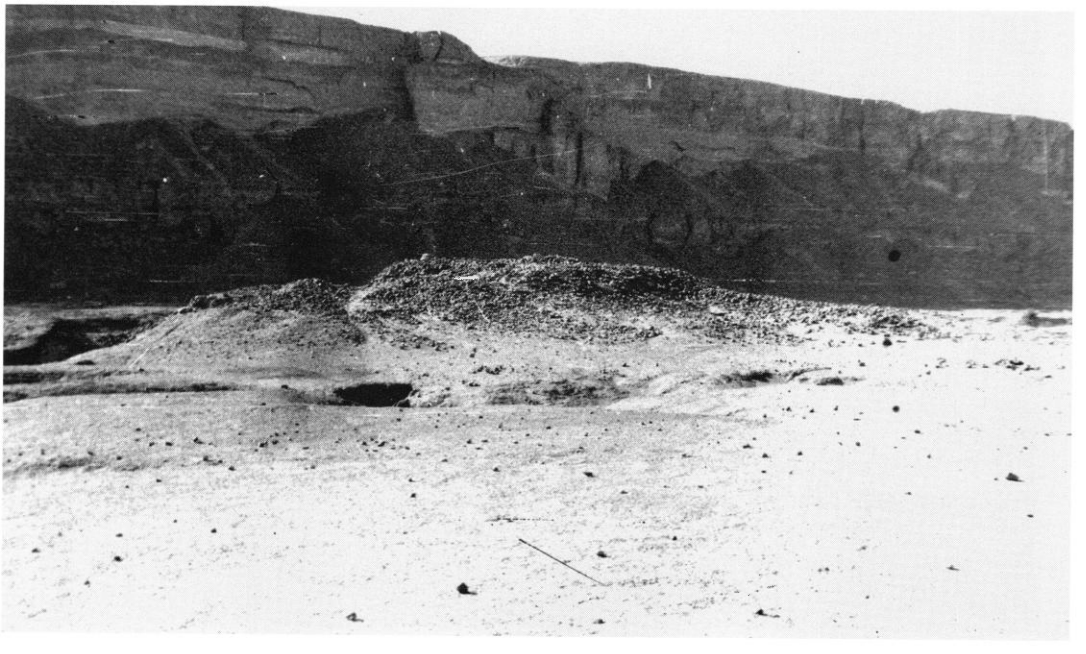


2 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naᶜmān, traces of trees root system on the ancient fields south of the temple's complex (photo by A. Sedov).

PLATE XX

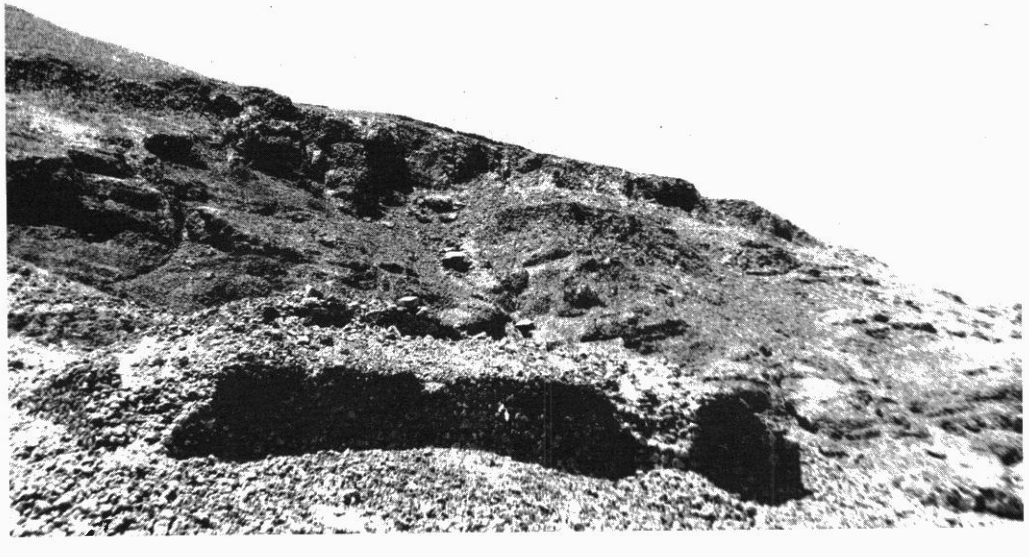


1 - Temple ᶜAthtarum/ᶜAśtarum dhāt-Ḥaḍrān, a well south of the complex (photo by A. Sedov).



2 - Temple Raybūn VI, view from the south-east (photo by A. Sedov).

1 - Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaʿān, view from the top (before excavation) (photo by A. Sedov).



2 - Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaʿān, view from the north (before excavation) (photo by A. Sedov).

PLATE XXII

1 - Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān, sanctuary, view from the top (photo by A. Sedov).

2 - Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān, refectory, view from the top (photo by A. Sedov).

1 - Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān, propylon (during excavation) (photo by A. Sedov).

2 - Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān, main entrance towards the sanctuary (during excavation) (photo by A. Sedov).

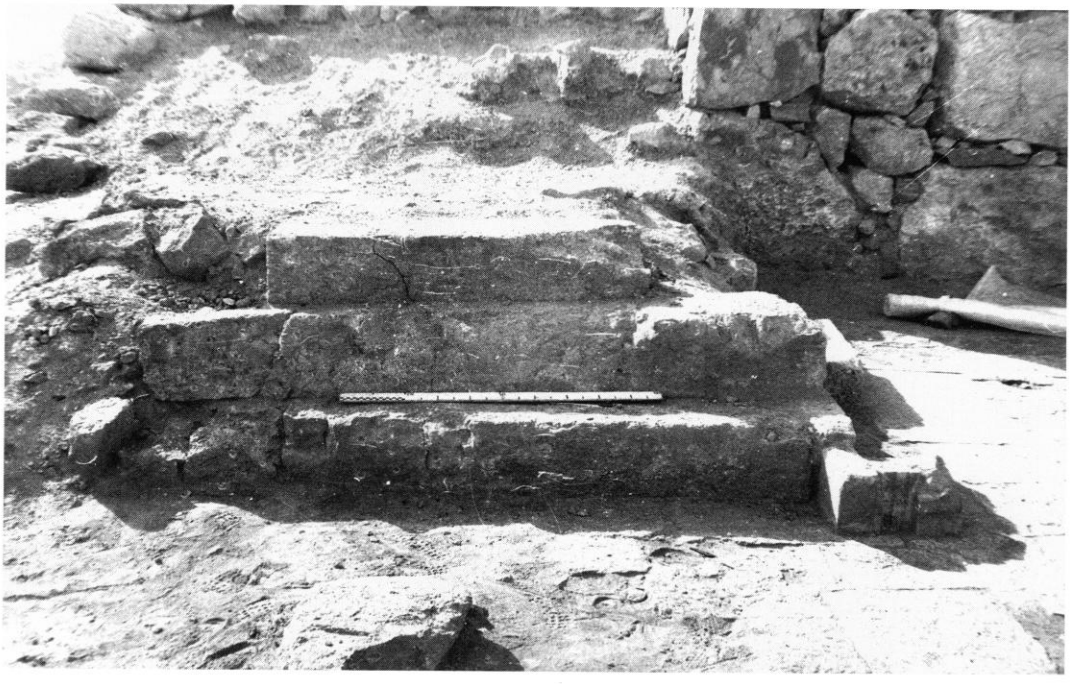
1 - Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān, altar in the gallery, view from the north (photo by A. Sedov).

2 - Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān, altar in the gallery, view from the east (photo by A. Sedov).

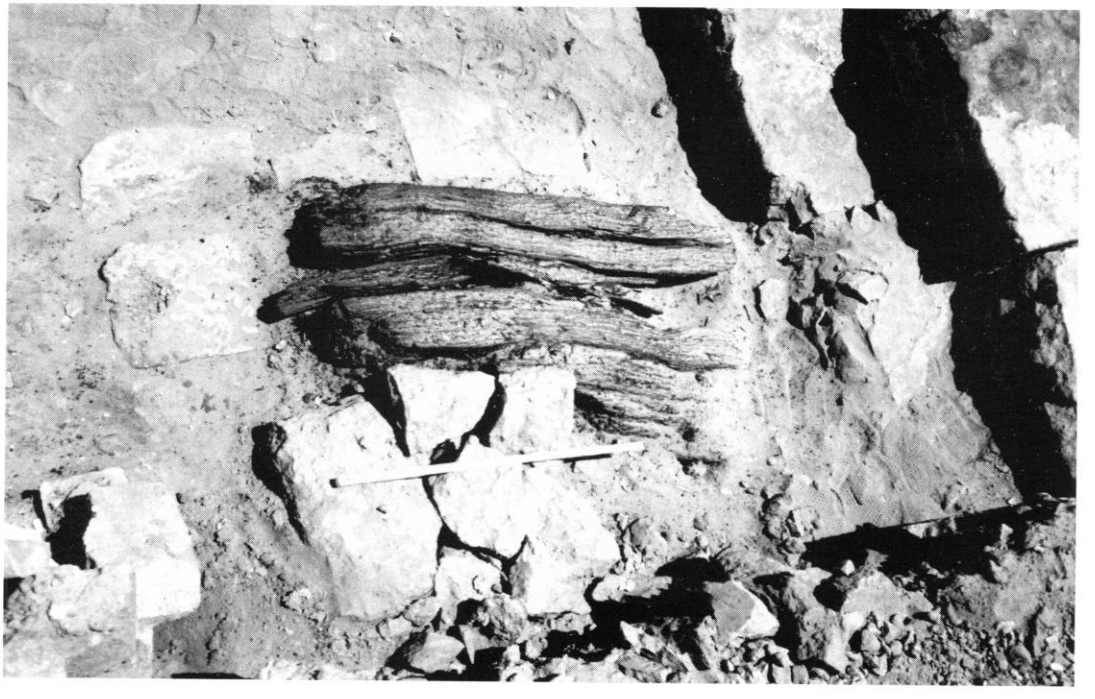
1 - Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān, paved floor of the gallery (photo by A. Sedov).

2 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Kafas/dhāt-Naᶜmān, paved floor of the sanctuary (photo by A. Sedov).

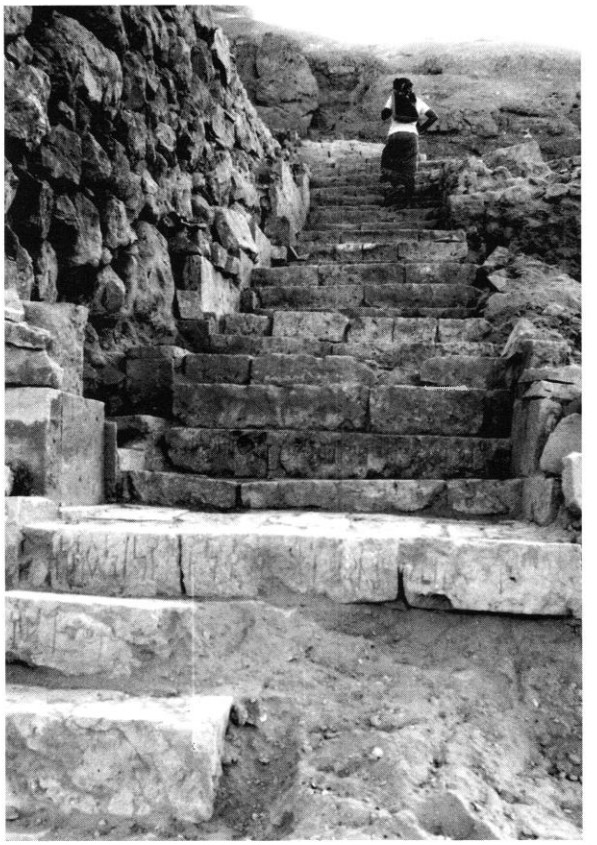
PLATE XXVI



1 - Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān, northern staircase of the sanctuary (photo by A. Sedov).



2 - Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān, remains of the wooden pillar from the propylon (photo by A. Sedov).



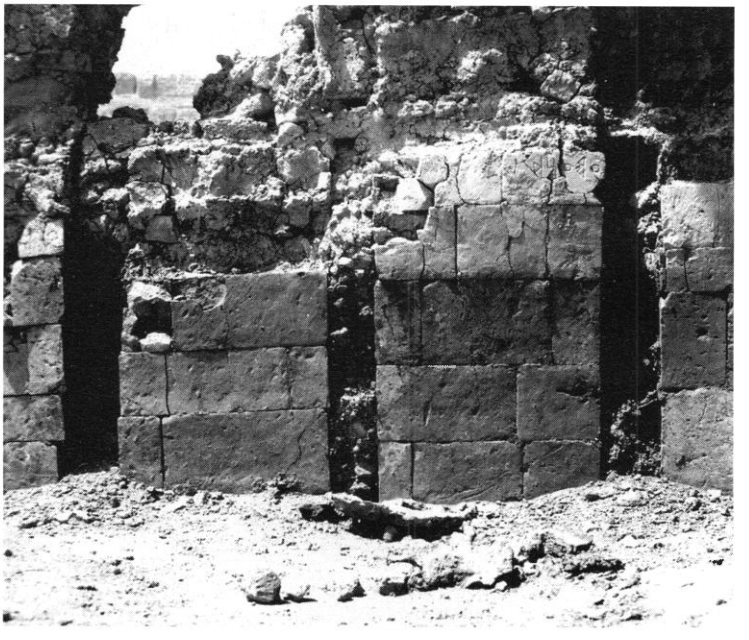
1 - Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān, lateral staircase (photo by A. Sedov).

2 - Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān, inscription Rb XIV/90 no. 253=SOYCE 2568 (photo by A. Sedov).

1 - Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān, votive inscription on the facing slabs (Rb XIV/89) (photo by A. Sedov).

2 - Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān, name Qatham engraved on the bench in the gallery (Rb XIV/89bis) (photo by A. Sedov).

1 - Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān, votive inscription engraved on the wall of the gallery (Rb XIV/89 no. 246a-d=SOYCE 2161) (photo by A. Sedov).



2 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Raḥbān, "early sanctuary" (Building 3), exterior northern wall with facing slabs (inscription SOYCE 644) (photo by Ju. Kozhin).

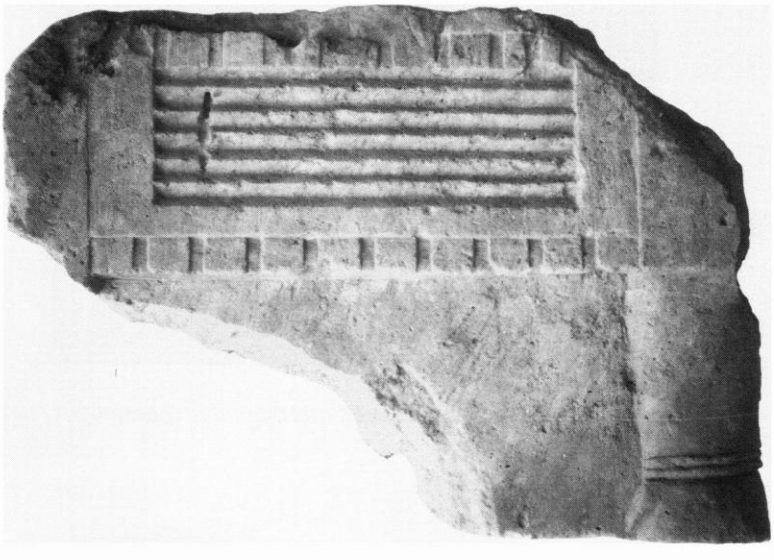
PLATE XXX

1 - Temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Raḥbān, passage between Buildings 2 and 3, facing slabs with fragments of votive inscriptions from the exterior walls (on the right - central lower fragment of Rb I/84, passage, lev. I no. 176=SOYCE 728, [published in Frantsouzoff 1995, pp. 20, 22 under the siglum Rb I/84 no. 178 etc.]; on the left - Rb I/84, passage, lev. I no. 193a=SOYCE 733a) (photo by Ju. Kozhin).

2 - Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaʿān, fragments of votive inscriptions re-used in the pavement of the roofed gallery around sanctuary (in the centre - Rb XIV/90 no. 263=SOYCE 2578; at the top - Rb XIV/90 no. 264=SOYCE 2579; in the lower right corner - Rb XIV/90 no. 261=SOYCE 2576) (photo by A. Sedov).

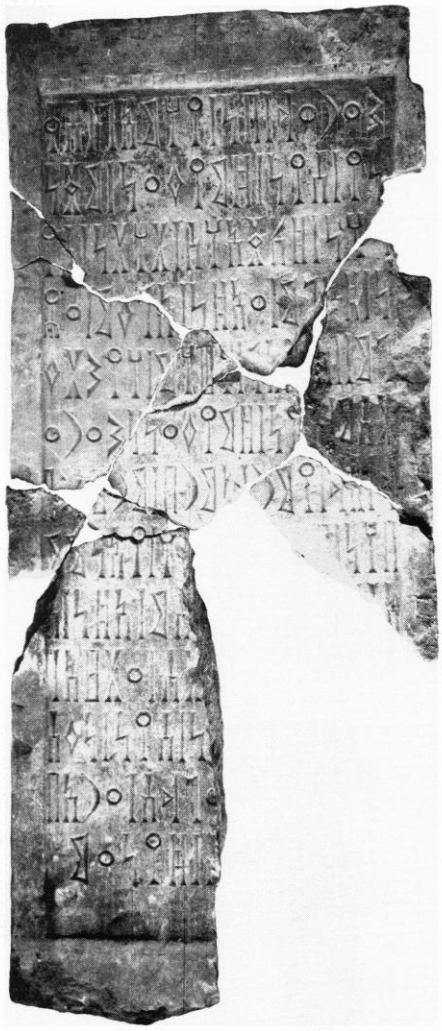
Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaʿān, re-used offering table (photo by A. Sedov).

1 - Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān, pedestal with votive stele (photo by A. Sedov).



2 - Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān, part of pedestal for votive stelae (photo by A. Sedov).

1



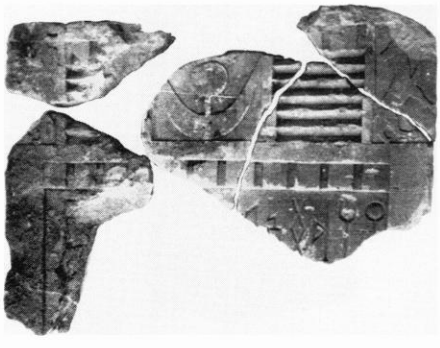
2

Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān, votive stelae, different types of decoration (no scale). 1 - Rb XIV/87 nos. 110-111 (published in Frantsouzoff 2001a, pp. 63-64, fig. 2a-b); 2 - Rb XIV/87 no. 104 (published in Frantsouzoff 1999b, pp. 37-42, pl. 2) (photo by A. Sedov).

PLATE XXXIV

1

2



3

4

Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaᶜān, votive stelae, different types of decoration (no scale). 1 - Rb XIV/90 no. 60=SOYCE 2377 (published in Frantsouzoff 2001a, pp. 64-65, fig. 3); 2 - Rb XIV/87 no. 109 (published in Frantsouzoff 2001a, p. 62, fig. 1); 3 - Rb XIV/87 no. 98; 4 - Rb XIV/87 no. 94 and 94bis (photo by A. Sedov).

1

2

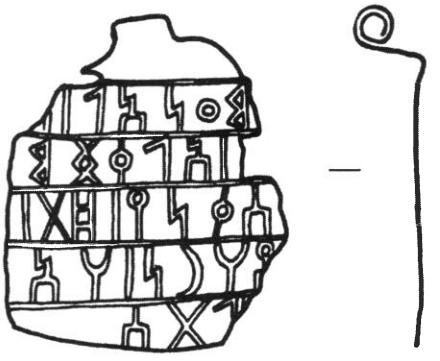
3

4

Votive stelae, different types of decoration (no scale) 1-3 - temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaʿān (Rb XIV/90 no. 192=SOYCE 2507; Rb XIV/90 no. 64=SOYCE 2381; Rb XIV/90 no. 103=SOYCE 2418); 4 - temple Dhāt Ḥimyam dhāt-Raḥbān (Rb I/90, Bld. 4 no. 64=SOYCE 2228) (photo by A. Sedov).

PLATE XXXVI

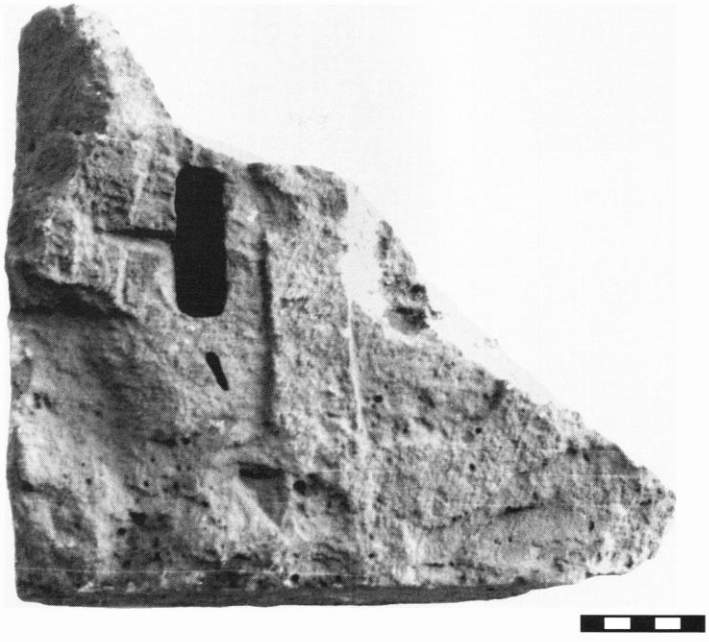
1



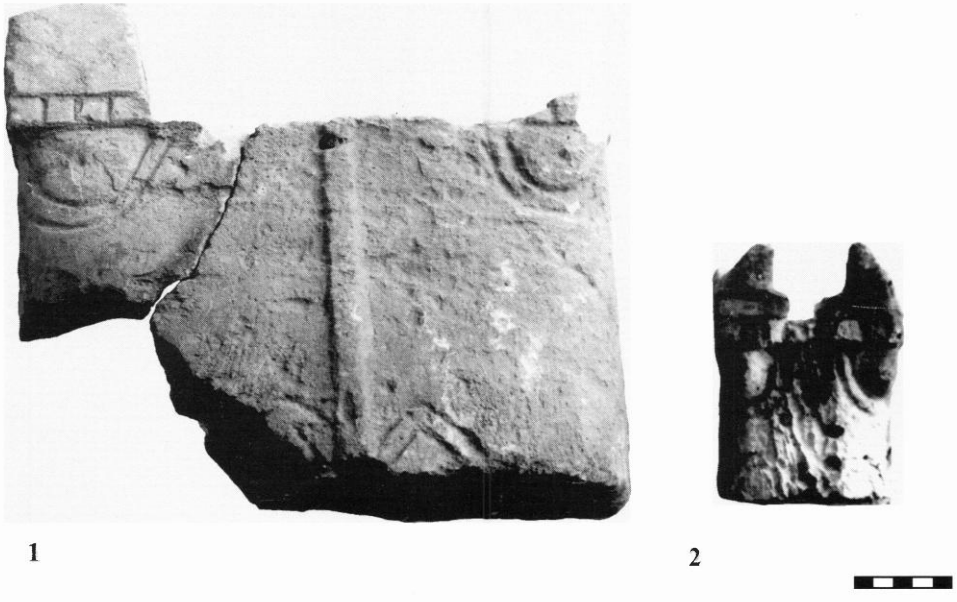
2

0 5 cm

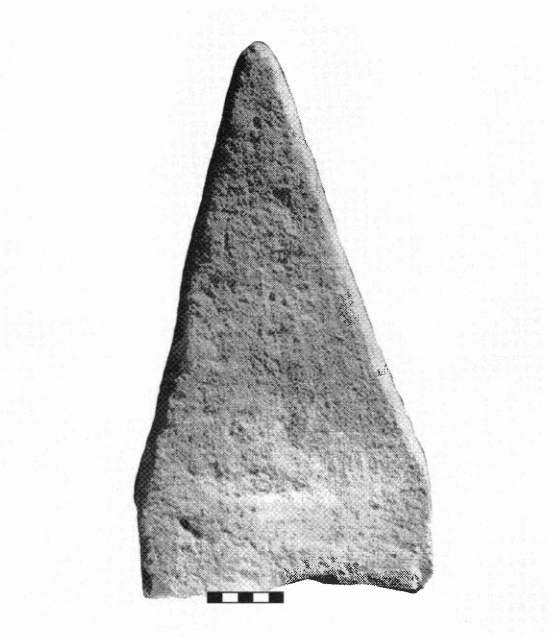
Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaʿān, votive silver plate (Rb XIV/89 no. 244=SOYCE 2159). 1 - photo after cleaning; 2 - drawing before cleaning (photo and design by A. Sedov).



1 - Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaʿān, pedestal for votive statue (photo by A. Sedov).



2 - Spouts of offering tables: 1 - temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaʿān; 2 - Raybūn IV settlement (photo by A. Sedov).



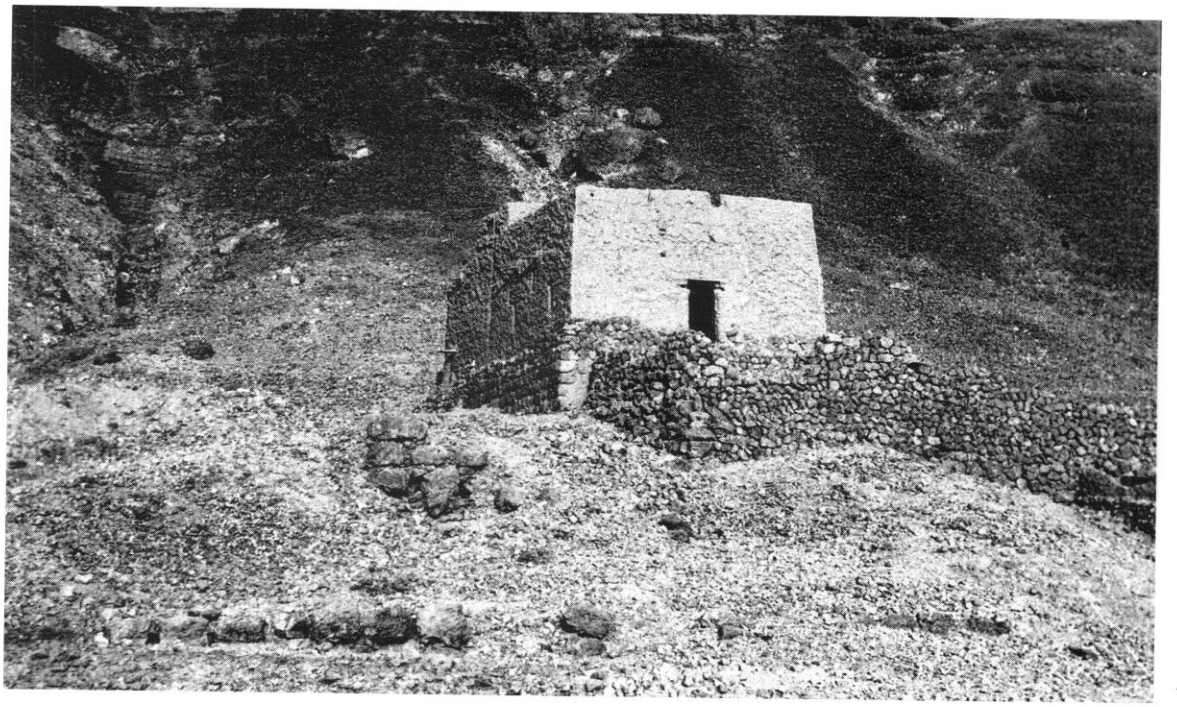
1 - Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaʿān, antefix (photo by Ju. Kozhin).

2 - Temple Sayīn dhū-Mayfaʿān, fragments of architectural decoration (photo by A. Sedov).

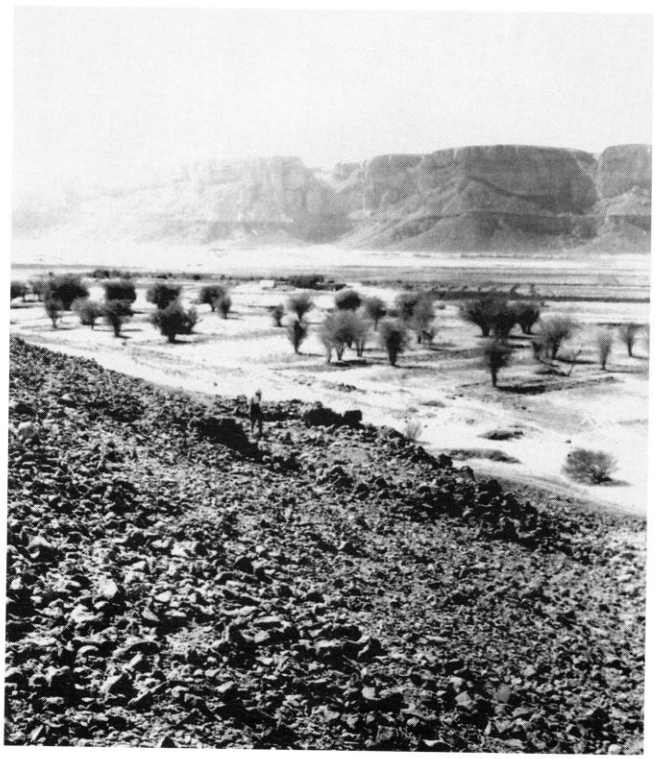
1 - Raybūn oasis, complex in the Wādī Miḥ. Temple Raybūn VIII, view from the south (photo by A. Sedov).

2 - Raybūn oasis, complex in the Wādī Miḥ. Temple Raybūn VIII, view from the east (photo by A. Sedov).

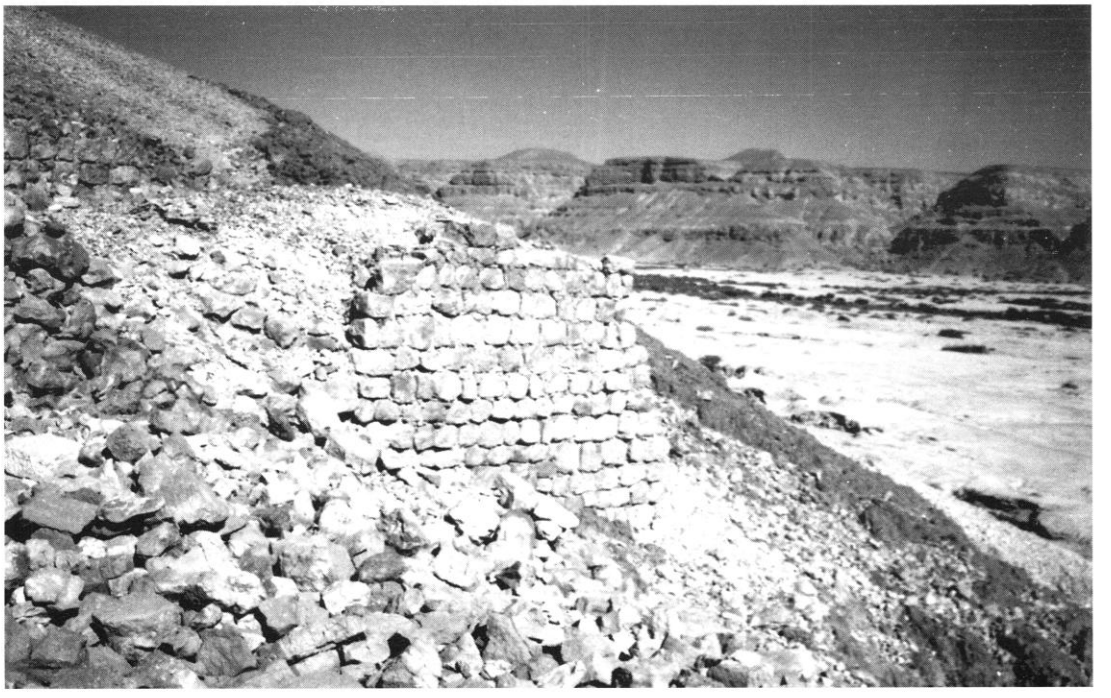
PLATE XL



1 - Raybūn oasis, remains of the temple Raybūn XIX, view from the west (photo by A. Sedov).



2 - Raybūn oasis, temple near ʿAdhāb (Raybūn XXXVI), view from the top (photo by A. Sedov).

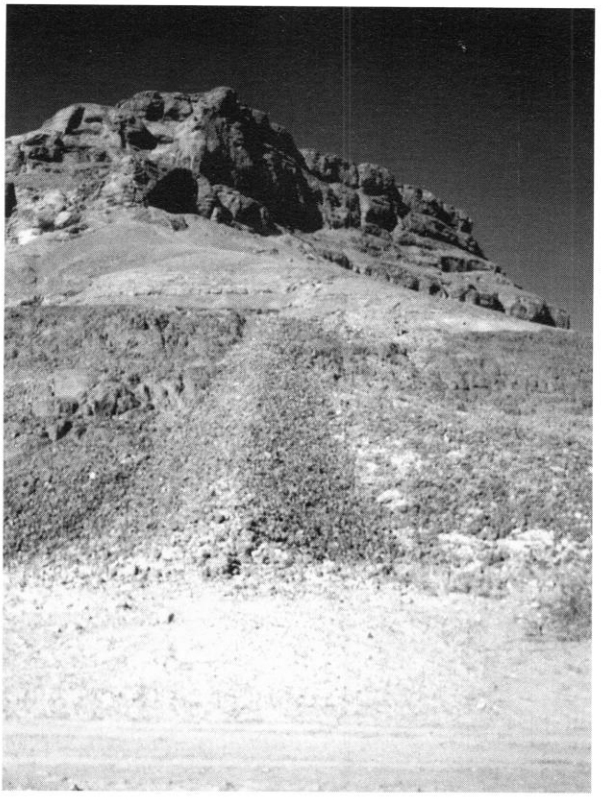


1 - Al-Ḥajar, extra muros *temple, ruins of structures (photo by A. Sedov).*

2 - Al-Ḥajar, extra muros *temple, remains of a staircase (photo by A. Sedov).*

1 - Ḥuṣn al-ᶜUrr, extra muros *temple, view from the south-east (photo by A. Sedov).*

2 - Makaynūn, intra muros *temple, view from the west (photo by A. Sedov).*

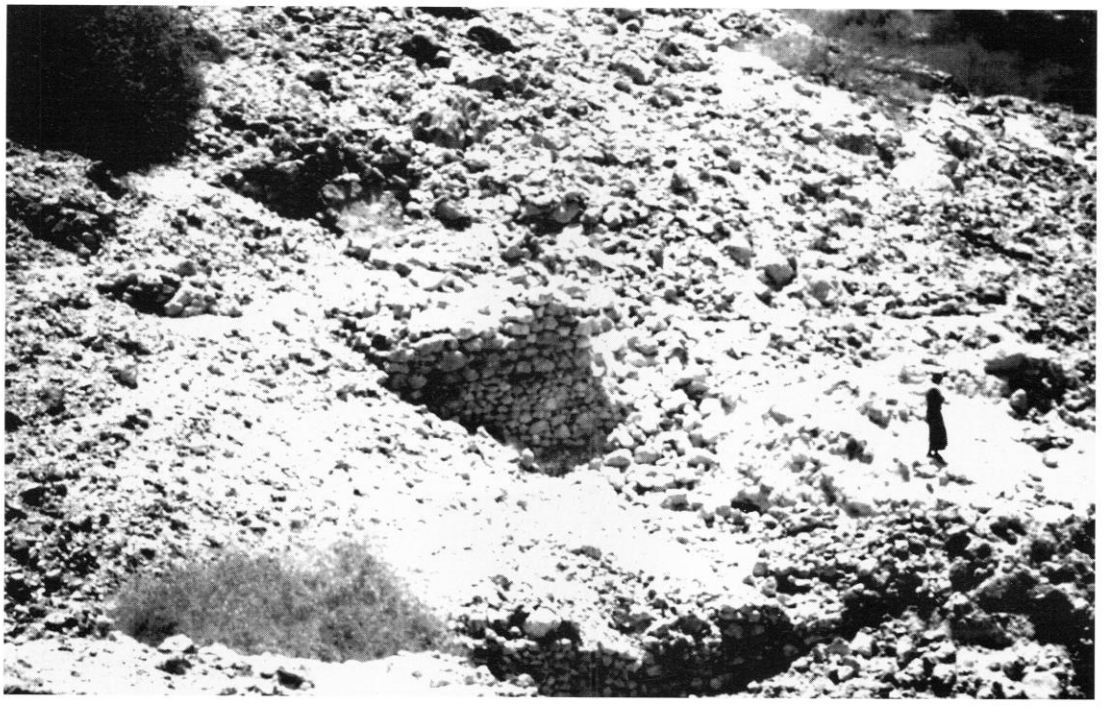


1 - Makaynūn, extra muros *temple, view from the south on the monumental staircase (photo by A. Sedov).*

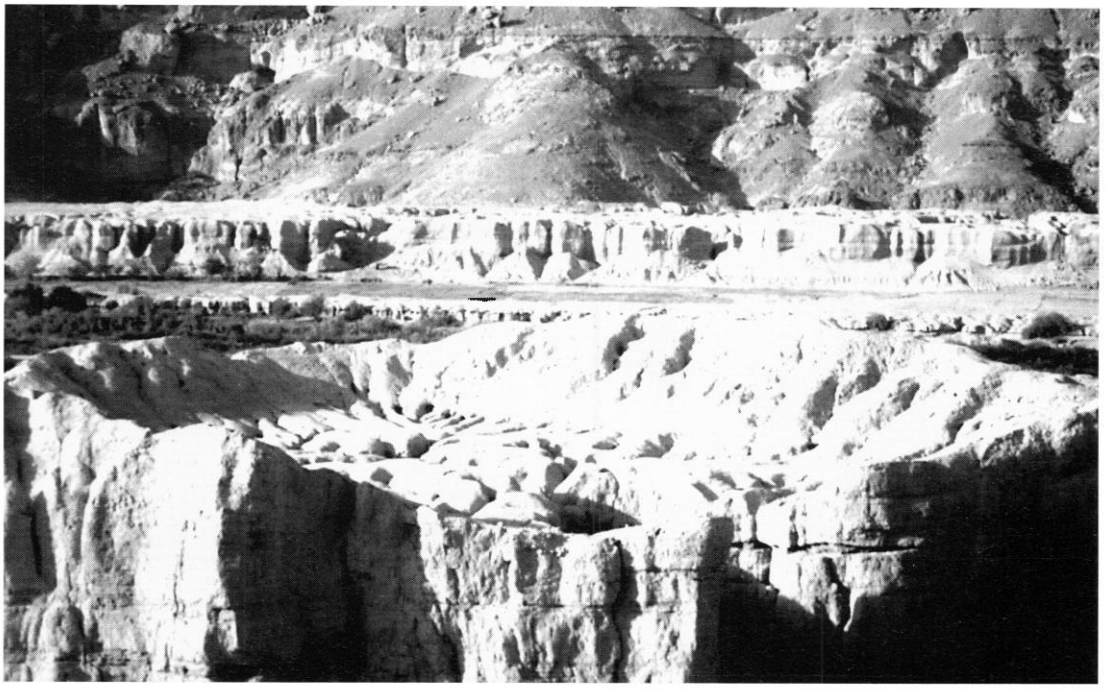
2 - Makaynūn, extra muros *temple, ruins of a sanctuary (photo by A. Sedov).*

1 - Bā Quṭfa settlement, ruins of a structure (photo by A. Sedov).

2 - Bā Quṭfa settlement, ruins of a structure (photo by A. Sedov).

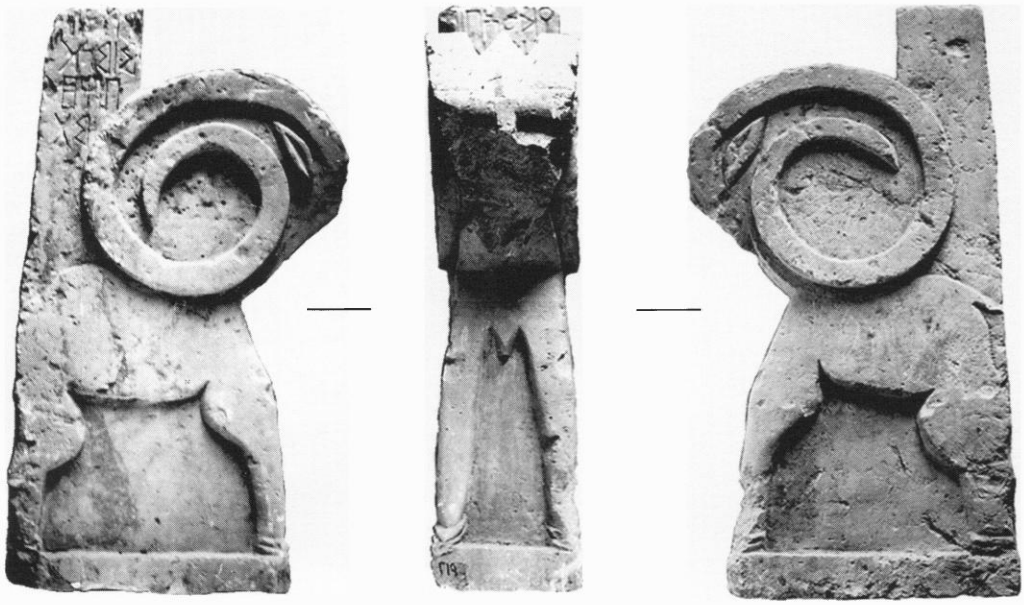


1 - Ḥuṣn al-Qays, ruins of a multi-stepped terrace (photo by A. Sedov).



2 - Ḥuṣn al-Qays, ancient fields north of the temple (photo by A. Sedov).

PLATE XLVI



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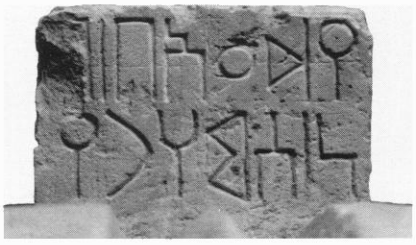
2



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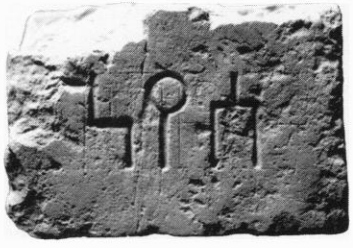


4

Temple Sayīn dhū-Madhābum, sculpture of ibex (from the al-Mukallā Museum, MM 219). 1- general view; 2-4 - inscription (photo by M. Köngsen) (published in Bauer 1995, p. 140, fig. 23a-b; Robin 1996, col. 1150; Avanzini 1996, p. 183, fig. 2-4; Yémen 1997, p. 102; Jemen 1998, pp. 293, 295, no. 162; al-Yaman 1999, p. 102; Yemen 2000, p. 318, no. 158; Queen of Sheba 2002, pp. 167-168, no. 211).

1

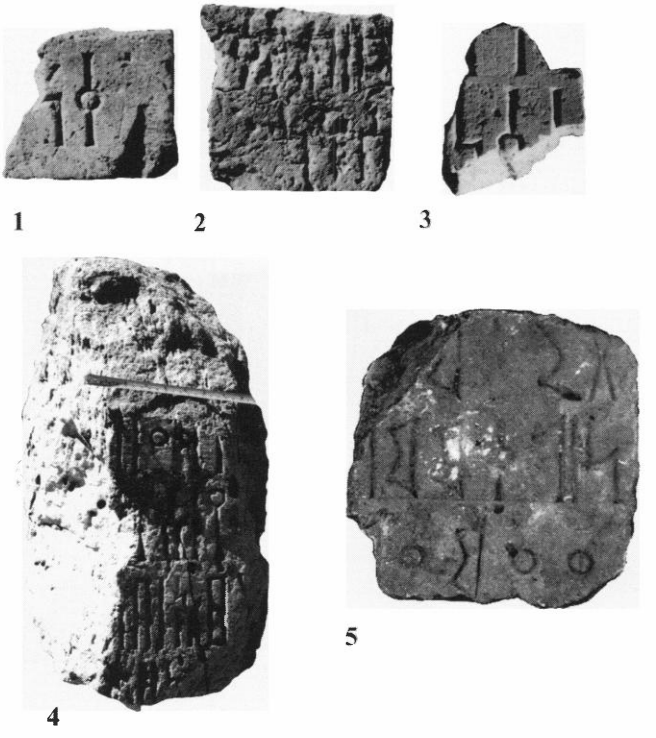
2

Votive stelae, different types of decorations (no scale) (photo by A. Sedov). 1 - Jūja settlement (RAMRY/93 no. 1); 2- Temple at al-Qūff settlement (GF1=SOYCE 910=Gf/84, 1).

PLATE XLVIII

1 - Shabwa, votive inscription SOYCE/91 - Shabwa no. 1 (photo by A. Sedov).

2 - Az-Zālif 1 settlement, votive inscription RAMRY/94-az-Zālif/1 no. 1 (photo by A. Sedov).



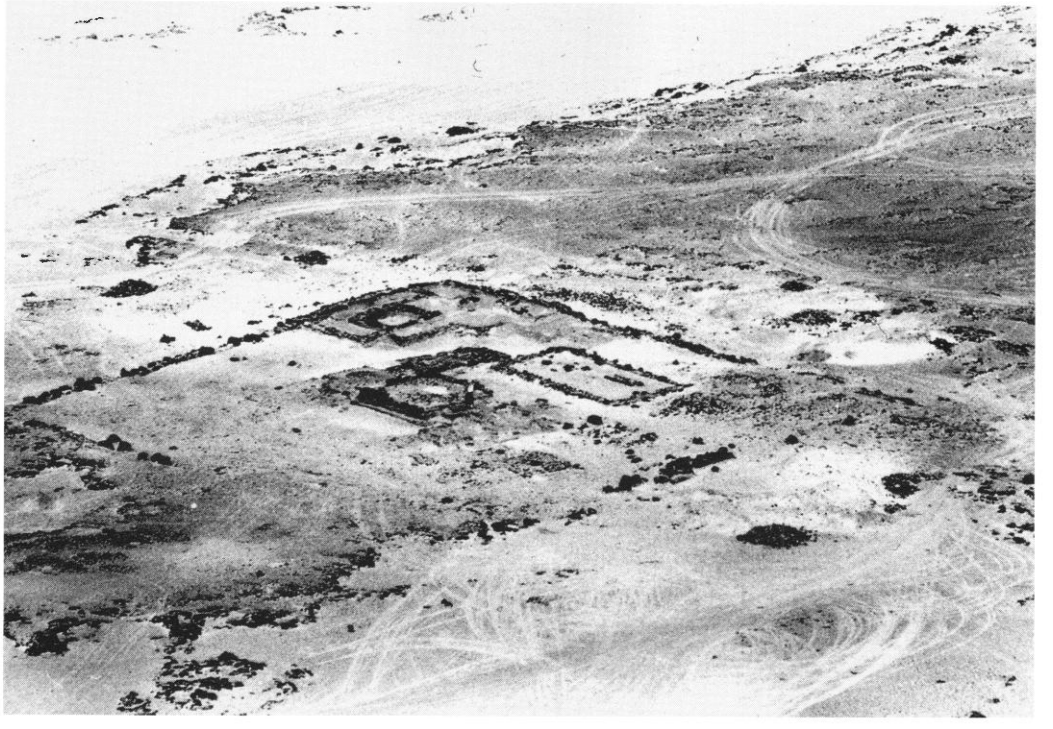
Fragments of votive inscriptions. 1-4 - al-Ḥajar, extra muros *temple (RAMRY/94-Haj nos. 1-4); 5 - Makaynūn,* intra muros *temple (RAMRY/94-Mak no. 1); (photo by A. Sedov).*

PLATE L

1

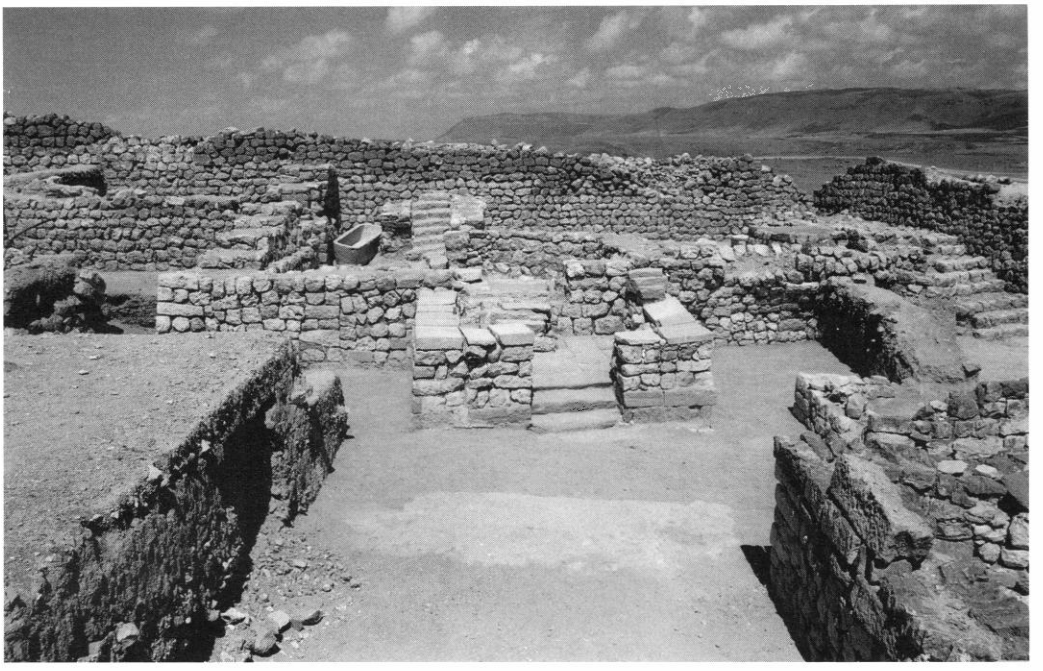
2

Ḥuṣn al-Qays, inscriptions from the ruins (photo by A. Sedov).
1 - RAMRY/00-ḤQ no. 1; 2 - RAMRY/00-ḤQ no. 2.

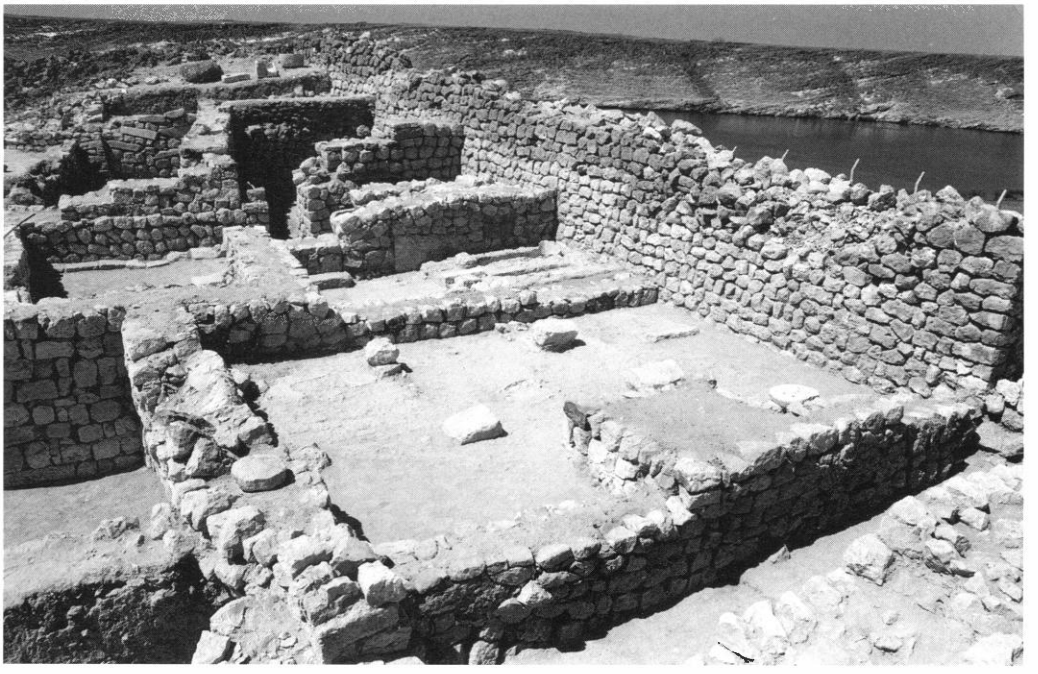


Biʾr ʿAlī settlement (ancient Qnʾ*), temple of a local deity (photo by A. Sedov).*

PLATE LII

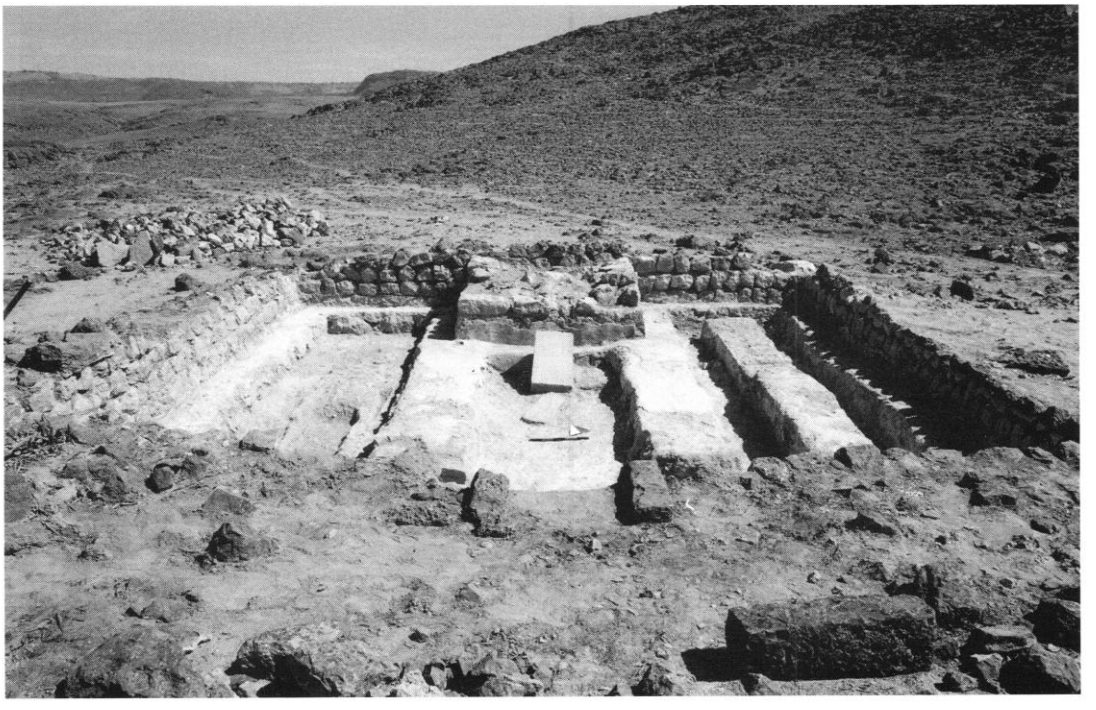


1 - Sumhurām (ancient S'mhrm*),* intra muros *temple, view from the east. On the background - stone basin for ritual ablutions in the room A39 (photo by A. Sedov).*



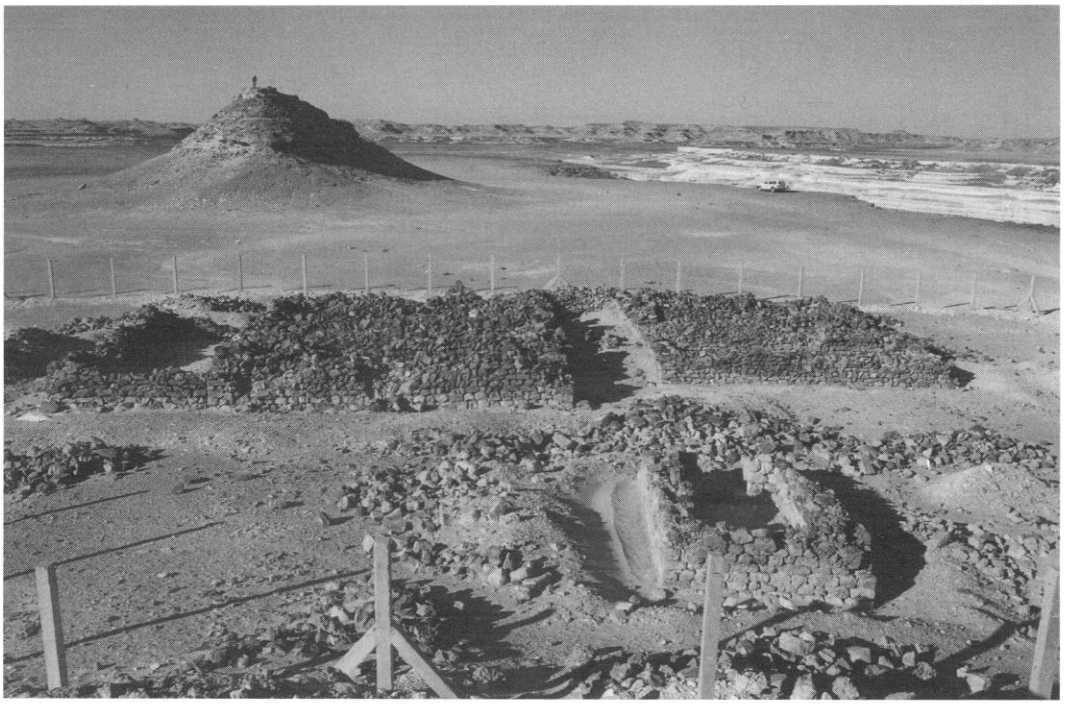
2 - Sumhurām (ancient S'mhrm*),* intra muros *temple, sanctuary, view from the north-east (photo by A. Sedov).*

1 - Sumhurām (ancient S'mhrm*),* intra muros *temple, sanctuary, podium for statue, view from the west (photo by A. Sedov).*



2 - Sumhurām (ancient S'mhrm*),* extra muros *temple, sanctuary, view from the south (photo by A. Sedov).*

PLATE LIV



1 - Ḥanūn, general view of the site, from the south (photo by A. Sedov).

2 - Ḥanūn, temple, view from the north (photo by A. Sedov).

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